



Indian Round Table Conference

12th November, 1930—19th January, 1931

PROCEEDINGS

CALCUTTA: GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
CENTRAL PUBLICATION BRANCH
1931

Price Re. 1-6.



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INDIAN ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

1. The Indian Round Table Conference was inaugurated by His Majesty the King-Emperor, at a public session in the Royal Gallery of the House of Lords, on 12th November, 1930.

The full proceedings at this session are printed on pages 11 to 19.

2. After the opening ceremony, the Conference decided, on the advice of the Business Committee (appointed at the close of the first session), to proceed to a general discussion in Plenary Session "On the question whether the future constitution of India should be on a federal or unitary basis." The Chairman stated that he would put a liberal interpretation on the subject thus placed before the Conference, and would allow reference to cognate questions and to questions which the Conference might think were involved in the decision between a constitution of the federal or unitary type. The Conference did not intend that any conclusions should be reached in this general discussion, but it was expected that the general trend of it would enable the Conference to frame its programme for further discussion in Committee.

The general discussion, which lasted for five days, is contained in pages 21 to 175.

The debate ranged over a wide field, but its most striking feature was declarations from Delegates from the Indian States opening the way to the consideration of a new federal constitution for India, embracing both British India and Indian States.

3. On the conclusion of the general discussion the Conference, on the advice of the Business Committee, decided to set up a "Federal Relations Committee to consider the structure of a federal system of government in India as regards relations between Indian States and British India, and relations between Provinces of British India and the Centre, including the question of responsibility at the Centre, and to recommend the main principles to be applied".

The Lord Chancellor framed the following Heads of Discussion for the Federal Relations Committee:—

1.

The component elements of the Federation.

2.

The type of Federal Legislature and the number of Chambers of which it should consist.

3.

The powers of the Federal Legislature.

4.

The number of members composing the Federal Legislature, and if the Legislature is of more than one Chamber, of each Chamber, and their distribution among the federating units.

5.

The method whereby representatives from British India and from the Indian States are to be chosen.

6.

The constitution, character, powers and responsibilities of the Federal Executive.

7.

The powers of the Provincial Legislatures.

8.

The constitution, character, powers and responsibilities of the Provincial Executives.

9.

The provision to be made to secure the willing co-operation of the minorities and the special interests.

10.

The question of establishing a Supreme Court and its jurisdiction.

11.

The Defence Forces.

12.

The relation of the Federal Executive and of the Provincial Executives to the Crown.

4. It was, however, found more convenient to work through a Committee of the Whole Conference, instead of through the Federal Relations Committee, and the Committee of the Whole set up nine sub-Committees to consider the following questions:—

No.	Name of sub-Committee.	Subject or terms of Reference.	Page in this vol.
I	Federal Structure .	1. The Component elements of the Federation. 2. The type of Federal Legislature and the number of Chambers of which it should consist. 3. The powers of the Federal Legislature. 4. The number of members composing the Federal Legislature, and if the Legislature is of more than one Chamber, of each Chamber and their distribution among the federating units. 5. The method whereby representatives from British India and from the Indian States are to be chosen. 6. The constitution, character, powers and responsibilities of the Federal Executive.	188— 286

No.	Name of sub-Committee.	Subject or terms of Reference.	Page in this vol.
II	Provincial Constitution.	The powers of the Provincial legislatures. The constitution, character, powers and responsibilities of the Provincial Executives.	287— 314
III	Minorities . . .	The provision to be made to secure the willing co-operation of the minorities and the special interests.	316— 337
IV	Burma . . .	To consider the nature of the conditions which would enable Burma to be separated from British India on equitable terms and to recommend the best way of securing this end.	338— 350
V	North-West Frontier Province.	To consider what modifications, if any, are to be made in the General Provincial Constitution to meet the special circumstances of the North-West Frontier Province.	360— 360
VI	Franchise . . .	On what main principles is the Franchise to be based for men and women.	367— 372
VII	Defence . . .	To consider questions of political principle relating to Defence, other than strictly constitutional aspects to be considered under Head 6 (Power of Executive) and 12 (Relations with the Crown).	373— 383
VIII	Services . . .	The relations of the Services to the new political structure.	384— 392
IX	Stud . . .	The question of constituting Stud as a separate Province.	393— 397

5. It will be seen that the first six of the Lord Chancellor's Heads were referred to the Federal Structure sub-Committee, Head 7 and 8 to the Provincial Constitution sub-Committee, Head 9 to the Minorities sub-Committee and Head 11 (so far as it is separable from Heads 6 and 12) to the Defence sub-Committee. It was agreed that Head 10 should also be examined by the Federal Structure sub-Committee. Lack of time prevented this being done, but the Lord Chancellor made a statement on the subject in the closing Plenary Sessions (see page 398). Head 12 was not formally discussed as a separate subject by the Federal Structure sub-Committee (or Provincial Constitution sub-Committee), but was considered in relation to the discussion which took place on Head 6.

It will also be seen that sub-Committees IV, V, VI, VII and IX dealt with subjects outside the range of the original Federal Relations Committee.

6. The Committee of the Whole Conference, in remitting the above subjects to its sub-Committees, did not hold any previous discussion in Committee of the Whole on the subject matter so referred, except in the case of the question of the separation of Burma. The discussion in the Committee of the Whole which preceded the setting up of sub-Committee IV is contained in pages 176 to 186 of this Volume.

7. The Reports of the sub-Committees were received by the Committee of the Whole and noted by it after observations had been made on each. The Chairman gave a ruling on the procedure of the Committee of the Whole Conference with regard to the Reports of sub-Committees, namely, that the Committee would not proceed to pass the Reports as decisions of the Committee, but would note them as presented by the various sub-Committees; observations made on the sub-Committees' reports in the Committee of the Whole Conference were also to be noted and used for the guidance of those who would be finally responsible for taking account of the proceedings of the Conference.

The text of the Report of each sub-Committee, immediately followed by the proceedings in Committee of the Whole Conference when it was presented, is printed in the section of this volume comprised in pages 188 to 397.

8. The Conference in Plenary Session received and noted the Reports of the nine sub-Committees submitted by the Committee of the Whole Conference, with the comments thereon, and a final debate in Plenary Session took place on 16th and 19th Jan., 1931, ranging over the whole of the work of the Conference, at the close of which the Conference unanimously adopted the Resolution printed on page 473 accepting the Reports of the sub-Committees (and comments thereon in Committee of the Whole) as "material of the highest value for use in the framing of a constitution for India, embodying as they do a substantial measure of agreement on the main ground-plan".

9. The Prime Minister's closing speech on 19th January contained a declaration on behalf of His Majesty's Government. The full proceedings of the final Plenary Sessions are contained on pages 398 to 489.

10. As stated above, the opening session was held in public. The press were also admitted to the last session of the Conference, at which the Prime Minister's speech was made. Neither press nor public were admitted to other sessions, but information as to the proceedings was given to the press by the Information Officers of the Conference acting under the general control of a Committee, appointed by the Conference, consisting of Mr. Wedgwood Benn, Mr. Chintamani and Mr. Rushbrook Williams.

11. A supplementary Volume will be made available, in due course, containing proceedings in the sub-Committees and the memoranda circulated to the Conference or its Committees.

(The Reports of the sub-Committees, the Conference Resolution of 19th January, and the Prime Minister's closing speech—which are contained in this Volume—have already been presented to Parliament in the preliminary Command Paper Cmd. 3772 of 1931.)

27th January, 1931.

INDIAN ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

BRITISH DELEGATIONS.

†THE RIGHT HON. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P.

‡THE RIGHT HON. LORD SANKEY, G.B.E.

THE RIGHT HON. WEDGWOOD BENN, D.S.O., D.F.C., M.P.

THE RIGHT HON. ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P.

THE RIGHT HON. J. H. THOMAS, M.P.

SIR WILLIAM JOWITT, K.C., M.P.

MR. H. B. LEES SMITH, M.P.

THE RIGHT HON. EARL RUSSELL.

§THE RIGHT HON. EARL PEEL, G.B.E.

THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF ZETLAND, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR SAMUEL HOARE, BART., G.B.E., C.M.G.,
M.P.

MAJOR THE HON. OLIVER STANLEY, M.C., M.P.

§THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF READING, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.,
G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O.

THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN, C.H.

SIR ROBERT HAMILTON, M.P.

MR. ISAAC FOOT, M.P.

INDIAN STATES DELEGATION.

COLONEL HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF ALVAR, G.C.S.I.,
G.C.I.E.

*HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA GAEKWAR OF BARODA, G.C.S.I.,
G.C.I.E.

§LIEUTENANT-COLONEL HIS HIGHNESS THE NAWAB OF BHOPAL,
G.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.V.O.

§LIEUTENANT-GENERAL HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF BIKANER,
G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., K.C.B., A.D.C.

* Rao Bahadur Krishnama Chari, C.I.E., acted as a Delegate when H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda was absent.

† Elected President of the Conference at Plenary Session of 12th Nov., 1930.

‡ Elected Deputy President of the Conference at Plenary Session of 17th Nov., 1930.

§ Elected "Chairmen" of the Conference at Plenary Session of 17th Nov., 1930.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJ RANA OF
DHOLPUR, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O.

COLONEL HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR,
G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF NAWAN-
AGAR, G.C.S.I., G.B.E.

MAJOR-GENERAL HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF PATIALA,
G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., A.D.C.

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SIR PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI, K.C.I.E.

SIR MANUBHAI MEHTA, C.S.I.

SARDAR SAHIBZADA SULTAN AHMED KHAN, C.I.E.

NAWAB SIR MUHAMMAD AKBAR HYDARI.

SIR MIRZA M. ISMAIL, C.I.E., O.B.E.

* COLONEL K. N. HAKSAR, C.I.E.

BRITISH INDIA DELEGATION.

§ HIS HIGHNESS THE AGA KHAN, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O.

SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR, K.C.I.E.

† MAULANA MUHAMMAD ALI.

DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR.

U AUNG THIN, K.S.M.

U BA PE

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MR. J. N. BASU.

SIR SHAH NAWAZ KHAN BHUTTO, C.I.E., O.B.E.

SIR HUBERT CARR.

MR. C. Y. CHINTAMANI.

CAPTAIN NAWAB SIR AHMAD SAID KHAN, OF CHHITARI, K.C.I.E.,
M.B.E.

MAHARAJADHIRAJA OF DARBHANGA.

CAPTAIN RAJA SHER MUHAMMAD KHAN.

MR. FAZL-UL-HUQ.

MR. M. M. OHN GHINE.

MR. A. H. GHUZNABI.

* Also acted as "Secretary-General" to the Indian States Delegation

† Died 4th January 1931.

§ Elected "Chairman" of the Conference at Plenary Session of 17th

Nov., 1930.

LIEUT.-COL. H. A. J. GIDNEY, I.M.S. (Retired).

SIR O. DE GLANVILLE, C.I.E., O.B.E.

SIR GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH.

KHAN BAHADUR HAFIZ HIDAYAT HUSAIN.

MR. B. V. JADHAV.

MR. M. R. JAYAKAR.

SIR COWASJI JEHangIR, K.C.I.E., O.B.E.

MR. M. A. JINNAH.

MR. T. F. GAVIN JONES.

MR. N. M. JOSHI.

DR. NARENDRA NATH LAW.

SIR B. N. MITRA, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., C.B.E.

SIR P. C. MITTER, C.I.E.

MR. H. P. MODY.

DR. B. S. MOONJE.

DIWAN BAHADUR RAMASWAMI MUDALIYAR.

DIWAN BAHADUR RAJA NARENDRA NATH.

RAO BAHADUR A. T. PANNIR SELVAM.

RAJA OF PARLAKIMEDI.

RAO BAHADUR SIR A. P. PATRO.

MR. K. T. PAUL, O.B.E.

NAWAB SIR ABDUL QAIYUM, K.C.I.E.

DIWAN BAHADUR M. RAMACHANDRA RAO.

MR. B. SHIVA RAO.

SIR SAYED SULTAN AHMED.

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU, K.C.S.I.

SIR MUHAMMAD SHAFI, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

SARDAR SAMPURAN SINGH.

§THE RIGHT HON. SRINIVASA SASTRI, C.H.

SIR CHIMANLAL SETALVAD, K.C.I.E.

RAI BAHADUR KUNWAR BISHESHWAR DAYAL SETH.

SIR PHIROZE SETHNA, O.B.E.

DR. SHAFI'AT AHMAD KHAN.

BEGUM SHAH NAWAZ.

M. R. RY. RAO BAHADUR SRINIVASAN.

MRS. SUBBARAYAN.

MR. S. B. TAMBE.

SARDAR SAHIB SARDAR UJJAL SINGH.

SIR C. E. WOOD.

MR. ZAFRULLAH KHAN.

OFFICIALS ATTENDING IN A CONSULTATIVE CAPACITY.

SIR W. M. HAILEY, G.O.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.C.S.

SIR C. A. INNES, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

SIR A. C. MACWATTERS, C.I.E., I.C.S.

MR. H. G. HAIG, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

MR. L. W. REYNOLDS, C.S.I., C.I.E., M.C.

INDIAN STATES ADVISERS.

Advisers to the Delegate for Hyderabad.

LIEUT.-COL. SIR RICHARD CHENIVIX-TRENCH, C.I.E., O.B.E.

NAWAB MAHDI YAR JUNG.

SIR AHMAD HUSAIN, AMIN JUNG, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

SIR REGINALD GLANCY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

Adviser to the Delegate for the S. Indian States.

DIWAN BAHADUR T. RAGHAVIAH, C.S.I.

Adviser to His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

RAO BAHADUR KRISHNAMA CHARI, C.I.E.

Adviser for the Orissa States.

MR. K. C. NEOGY, M.L.A.

Advisers nominated by the Chamber of Princes Special Organisation.

MR. L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS, C.B.E.

QAZI ALI HAJDAR ABBASI.

SIRDAR JARMANT DAS, O.B.E.

DIWAN BAHADUR A. B. LATTHE.

RAO SAHIB D. A. SURVE.

SECRETARIATS.

Government.

MR. S. K. BROWN, C.V.O.

MR. V. DAWSON, C.I.E.

MR. K. S. FITZE, I.C.S.

MR. W. H. LEWIS, C.I.E., I.C.S.

Conservative.

MR. R. J. STOPFORD.

Liberal.

PROF. J. COATMAN, C.I.E.

Indian States.

MR. M. PICKTHALL.

MR. K. M. PANIKKAR.

MR. N. S. SUBBA RAO.

British India Delegation.

SIR GEOFFREY CORBETT, K.B.E., C.I.E., I.C.S.

MR. A. LATIFI, O.B.E., I.C.S.

MR. G. S. BAJPAI, C.I.E., C.B.E., I.C.S.

SECRETARIAT-GENERAL.

MR. R. H. A. CARTER, C.B., *Secretary-General*.KHAN BAHADUR MIAN ABDUL AZIZ, C.B.E.,
PUNJAB C.S.

MR. W. D. CROFT

MR. G. E. J. GENT, D.S.O., M.C.

MR. B. G. HOLDSWORTH, I.C.S.

MR. R. F. MUDIE, O.B.E., I.C.S.

MR. G. S. RAJADHYAKSHA, I.C.S.

} *Secretaries.*

PUBLICITY OFFICERS.

MR. HUGH MACGREGOR.

MR. G. F. STEWARD, C.B.E.

MR. A. H. JOYCE.

INDIAN ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

Opening Speeches, 12th November, 1930

SPEECH DELIVERED BY HIS MAJESTY THE KING-EMPEROR.

It affords Me much satisfaction to welcome in the Capital of My Empire the representatives of the Princes, Chiefs and People of India, and to inaugurate their Conference with My Ministers and with representatives of the other Parties composing the Parliament in whose precincts we are assembled.

More than once the Sovereign has summoned historic assemblies on the soil of India, but never before have British and Indian Statesmen and Rulers of Indian States met, as you now meet, in one place and round one table, to discuss the future system of government for India and seek agreement for the guidance of My Parliament as to the foundations upon which it must stand.

Nearly ten years ago, in a message to My Indian Legislature, I dwelt upon the significance of its establishment in the constitutional progress of India. Ten years is but a brief span in the life of any Nation, but this decade has witnessed, not only in India but throughout all the Nations forming the British Commonwealth, a quickening and growth in ideals and aspirations of Nationhood which defy the customary measurement of time. It should therefore be no matter of surprise to the men of this generation that, as was then contemplated, it should have become necessary to estimate and review the results of what was begun ten years ago and to make further provision for the future. Such a review has been lately carried out by the Statutory Commission appointed by Me for that purpose and you will have before you the outcome of their labours, together with other contributions which have been or can be made to the solution of the great problem confronting you.

No words of Mine are needed to bring home to you the momentous character of the task to which you have set your hands. Each one of you will, with Me, be profoundly conscious how much depends, for the whole of the British Commonwealth, on the issue of your consultations. This community of interest leads Me to count it as of happy augury that there should be present to-day the representatives of My Governments in all the Sister States of that Commonwealth.

I shall follow the course of your proceedings with the closest and most sympathetic interest, not indeed without anxiety but with a greater confidence. The material conditions which surround the lives of My subjects in India affect Me nearly, and will be ever present in your thoughts during your forthcoming deliberations.

I have also in mind the just claims of majorities and minorities, of men and women, of town dwellers and tillers of the soil, of landlords and tenants, of the strong and the weak, of the rich and the poor, of the races, castes and creeds of which the body politic is composed. For these things I care deeply. I cannot doubt that the true foundation of self-government is in the fusion of such divergent claims into mutual obligations and in their recognition and fulfilment. It is My hope that the future government of India based on this foundation will give expression to her honourable aspirations.

May your discussions point the way to the sure achievement of this end, and may your names go down to history as those of men who served India well, and whose endeavours advanced the happiness and prosperity of all My beloved People.

I pray that Providence may grant you in bounteous measure, wisdom, patience and goodwill.

After His Majesty had left the Royal Gallery and after the Company had resumed their seats, HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF PATIALA (Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes) said:—

The gracious Address which His Majesty The King-Emperor has just delivered strikes a responsive chord in our hearts, and if we can succeed in following the lead which he has given us, I feel confident that our deliberations will be crowned with success. In proposing that the Prime Minister of Great Britain, The Rt. Hon. Mr. James Ramsay MacDonald, should be appointed Chairman to preside over the deliberations of the Conference, I know I am voicing the wish of all present. I can assure you, Mr. Prime Minister, that all of us, whether we are Princes or Ministers, who represent the Indian States, will co-operate most heartily with Great Britain and with British India in working for the solution of the problems which jointly confront us. As Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes I have the honour to propose that the Prime Minister should be appointed as Chairman of the Conference to preside over our deliberations.

HIS HIGHNESS THE AGA KHAN.

I have great pleasure in seconding the proposal of His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

The motion was carried with acclamation.

(The Chair was then taken by the Prime Minister.)

SPEECH DELIVERED BY MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

I have, first of all, to thank the Maharaja of Patiala and His Highness the Aga Khan for the very generous and hearty way in which they moved the proposition which has been carried so unanimously.

My first duty as Chairman of this Conference is to ask your consent—and I know it will be forthcoming in full measure—that I should convey our humble duty to His Majesty, and an expression of the loyal gratitude with which we have welcomed his gracious presence here and of the inspiration which his words have given us. I know also that you would have me include in your message our loyal and grateful appreciation of the kindly solicitude of Her Majesty the Queen which my Indian friends have been privileged to experience already. Nor are we unmindful that it is to His Majesty's gracious permission that we owe the honour of holding our meeting in this Chamber to-day and hereafter in the Royal Palace of St. James's. We are deeply sensible of these signal marks of Their Majesties' sympathy and favour.

I am very conscious of the responsibility you have put upon me. But responsibility lies heavily on us all at this Conference. For we are now at the very birth of a new history. The declarations made by British Sovereigns and Statesmen from time to time that Great Britain's work in India was to prepare her for self-government have been plain. If some say that they have been applied with woeful tardiness, I reply that no permanent evolution has seemed to anyone going through it to be anything but tardy. I am never disturbed by people who say I have not fulfilled my pledges, provided I *am fulfilling* them. We have met to try and register by agreement a recognition of the fact that India has reached a distinctive point in her constitutional evolution. Whatever that agreement may be, there will be some who will say that it is not good enough or that it goes too far. Let them say so. We must boldly come out and appeal to an intelligent and informed public opinion. The men who co-operate are the pioneers of progress. Civil disorder is the way of reaction. It destroys the social mentality from which all constitutional development derives its source and upon which all stable internal administration is based.

The task that lies ahead of us is beset by difficulties for the solution of which the past affords no ready-made guide; there are stubborn diversities of view that have still to be brought together, and conflicting interests that have hitherto proved irreconcilable.

Could any issues be more momentous than those we are facing this morning? Could any, at the same time, be more enticing to men who love to make the rough places smooth? We must bring to our task all the resources of mutual trust, of practical sagacity, of statesmanship, which we can command.

This is not the time even for reciting, to say nothing of prejudging, our problems. We shall meet them as we proceed. Let us face them as men determined to surmount them. Why not? What problems of growth and of development in liberty and institutions have our peoples not faced, and united we remain, in spite of all our diversities, because of our skill in harmonising differences by reasonable mutual accommodation. Proof of that is that very goodly array of distinguished Prime Ministers who have been with us for the last few weeks consulting about Dominion affairs.

His Majesty's presence at the opening of our deliberations enabled us to understand both the strength and the flexibility of the bond which binds our whole Commonwealth of Nations together in loyalty and devotion to the Crown. The attendance of representatives of the Dominion Governments is an earnest of the interest and goodwill with which the sister-States in the Commonwealth of Nations will follow our labours. The association of the Princes for the first time in joint conclave with representatives of the people of British India is symbolical of the gradual moulding together of India into one whole. And when I turn to the representatives of British India, I am mindful, it is true, of India's different communities and languages and interests, but I am reminded still more of the quickening and unifying influences which have grown up irresistibly from her contact with Great Britain, and also, and still deeper, of the aspirations for a united India which were in the minds of her philosophers and her rulers before the first English trader set foot on her shores. Nor is it without significance that we, who, though not of India, also seek India's honour, are drawn from all three Parties in this Parliament, on the inter-play of whose rivalries, no less than ideals, is built up our British system of Government. But apart from these things, surely, the simple fact that we have come here to sit at one table with the set and sole purpose of India's advancement within the companionship of the Commonwealth, is in itself an undeniable sign of progress towards that end, and also an inspiring challenge to reach agreement.

We must now begin our labours. Things have been said in the past, whether in anger, in blindness or for mischief, which we had better forget at this table. Whatever be the story that is to be written of this Conference, be assured a story *will* be written. Let us strive to make it worthy of the best political genius of our peoples and to add by it to the respect paid by the world to both our nations.

**SPEECH DELIVERED BY HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA
GAEKWAR OF BARODA.**

be given to the noble words of Victoria, the great Queen, as expressed in a famous Proclamation:—

They are these:—

“ In their prosperity will be Our strength; in their contentment Our security; in their gratitude Our best reward.”

May we all labour whole-heartedly, with mutual trust and good-will, for the attainment of so great an end.

SPEECH DELIVERED BY HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR (Pro-Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes).

I must express our deep gratitude to His Most Gracious Majesty for the cordial welcome tendered to us, and I pray that Providence may grant to us the vision and the will to realise the hopes expressed in those inspiring words uttered this morning by our beloved King-Emperor.

This is the first occasion on which the Princes of India in person sit at the Conference Table along with representatives of British India and of His Majesty's Government to discuss the political future of India. Allied by treaty with the British Crown and within our territories independent rulers, we have come here with a full sense of responsibility to our States and to all India. As allies of Britain, we stand solidly by the British connexion. As Indians and loyal to the Land whence we derive our birth and infant nurture, we stand as solidly as the rest of our countrymen for our Land's enjoyment of a position of honour and equality in the British Commonwealth of Nations. Our desire to co-operate to the best of our ability with all sections of this Conference is a genuine desire; so too is genuine our determination to base our co-operation upon the realities of the present situation.

Neither England nor India can afford to see this Conference end in failure. We must approach our task resolved to succeed and to overcome all difficulties. We all will have to exercise much patience, tact and forbearance; we must be inspired by mutual understanding and good-will. We needs must give and take. If we succeed, it is England no less than India which gains. If we fail, it is India no less than England which loses. We are not assembled to dictate or accept terms; we are met together to adjust mutual interests for the common benefit.

The task confronting this Conference is a gigantic one. In the case of no people would such an aim as ours be easy of accomplishment. In the case of India, the complexity of the factors is unique. But we believe that difficulties exist only to be surmounted, and, by the Grace of God, with good-will and sympathy on both sides, surmounted they shall be.

With the noble words of the King-Emperor's speech still ringing in our ears, we Princes affirm that this Conference shall not fail through any fault of ours.

SPEECH DELIVERED BY SIR MUHAMMAD AKBAR HYDARI.

The address which we have been privileged to hear to-day from the lips of His Majesty The King-Emperor, full as it is of that personal sympathy to which every Indian heart readily responds, will prove an inspiration and a guide for all of us.

His Exalted Highness the Nizam, whose representative on the Indian States Delegation I have the honour to be, counts amongst his proudest titles that of "Faithful Ally of the British Government." For 150 years the Nizams have held steadfast to this alliance—"an alliance in perpetuity," as the treaties proudly proclaim it to be.

As with Hyderabad, so with all States; and I can assure the peoples of the Empire and the world at large that no hand shall sever the ties which bind the Princes to the Crown.

At the same time the States, autonomous within their own borders, can fully sympathise with the aims and ideals of the peoples of British India and are ready to work in harmony with them for the Greater and United India, which we all hope may be the outcome of our deliberations.

It is in this spirit we enter the Conference, and in this spirit we shall do all that lies in our power to assist in the solution of the problems of our country and the satisfaction of her aspirations.

Every race, creed and region has its own distinct contribution to make to the common weal, and we of the States for our part bring with us no mean inheritance—the traditions and culture handed down from spacious days, when in politics, arts and science India stood amongst the foremost peoples of the world.

We approach our task, which is beset with so many difficulties, in all humility, trusting not in our own power, but in the guiding hand of the Divine Providence.

SPEECH DELIVERED BY MR. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

We all feel heartened to our task by the gracious and inspiring words of His Majesty. They contain lessons which we must practise if we would succeed in the enterprise about to begin. Sir, under your sagacious and often proved guidance, The Crown is the symbol both of power and of unity and draws our hearts in willing homage and reverence. It is more. It is the fountain of justice, freedom and equality among the various peoples of the Commonwealth. Loyalty, therefore, enjoins the faithful and unceasing pursuit of these ideals and we should be failing in our duty to the Crown if we knowingly tolerated, anywhere under the British flag, conditions that produced injustice, inequality or undue restriction on the growth of communities. This Conference will enable all parties interested in India to bring together their ideas on the subject of her contentment and peaceful advance to the fulfilment of her destiny. Bold and candid speech is required, but also moderation, forbearance and readiness to appreciate differing views. Above

all the vision of India as a whole must shine brightly in our hearts, and her strength and prosperity must be the sovereign consideration governing all our plans. You will hear, Sir, many claims and counsels, and some of them may be in partial conflict. Our united prayer is that somehow, through the magic of your personality, these discordant claims will be reconciled and these fragmentary counsels may be gathered into one complete scheme so that this table, whatever its exact physical shape, may be hereafter remembered in history as the table of rounded wisdom and statesmanship. Through all the clouds of prejudice and misunderstanding that darken the problem two statements of policy shine like bright stars by whose light we can guide ourselves. They both have the indisputable authority of His Majesty's Government. One was made by His Excellency the Viceroy just a year ago: it was to the effect that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as contemplated in the declaration of August, 1917, is the attainment of Dominion Status. The other was made by him in July this year. It promised India the enjoyment of as large a degree of management of her own affairs as could be shown to be compatible with the necessity of making provision for those matters in regard to which she was not yet in a position to assume responsibility. Our allotted task is to interpret these statements liberally and translate them courageously into concrete proposals for the benefit of India and the increased glory of the Commonwealth.

SPEECH DELIVERED BY MR. M. A. JINNAH.

May I, at the very outset, say that we appreciate greatly the signal marks of sympathy and kindness on the part of Their Majesties referred to by you and I am sure we all consent in full measure that you should convey our grateful acknowledgments as proposed by you.

This is not an occasion for long speeches nor can I here at this moment discuss some of the vital issues which are uppermost in our minds; but every one here will agree with me when I say that it is very fortunate indeed that a Statesman of your calibre and experience, Sir, has honoured us by agreeing to preside over our deliberations, notwithstanding your other multifarious and responsible duties; and I sincerely pray that your expression of confidence in the ultimate success of this Conference may prove true.

I am glad, Mr. President, that you referred to the fact that "the declarations made by British Sovereigns and Statesmen from time to time that Great Britain's work in India was to prepare her for self-government have been plain", and may I point out further, that the announcement made as recently as 31st October, 1929, by His Excellency the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government, declared that in their judgment it was implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress as there contemplated is the attainment of Dominion Status.

But I must emphasise that India now expects translation and fulfilment of these declarations into action.

There never was a more momentous or graver issue in the history of our two nations than the one we are called upon to face to-day and upon the solution of which hangs the fate of nearly one-fifth of the population of the world.

We welcome the association of the Princes with the representatives of the people of British India and I share the hope with you, Mr. Prime Minister, that all parties and interests and communities concerned will bring to bear upon the task before us—to use your words—all the resources of mutual trust, practical sagacity and statesmanship which they can command.

In conclusion, I must express my pleasure at the presence of the Dominion Prime Ministers and Representatives. I am glad that they are here to witness the birth of a new Dominion of India which would be ready to march along with them within the British Commonwealth of Nations.

SPEECH DELIVERED BY MR. BA PE.

The Burmese Delegates are deeply sensible of the signal honour which has been done to Burma by the selection of a Burman to speak on this momentous and historic occasion. It is an honour which will cause genuine pleasure and satisfaction to our countrymen; and on their behalf I wish to say how grateful we are to His Majesty The King for the gracious words he has spoken to us to-day; and I humbly beg leave to assure him of our loyalty to him and his Royal Consort. It has caused us heartfelt satisfaction to see him restored to health and we pray that he may live long to preside over the destinies of this great Empire.

The people of Burma are very grateful to His Majesty's Government for arranging this Round Table Conference, and we believe that a frank and full and friendly discussion can only result in good, both for the people of Britain and of Burma. We believe that friendly discussion will remove obstacles and solve problems that, viewed from one standpoint, only appear insurmountable or insoluble.

We desire to thank His Majesty's Government, the political Parties and leaders and the people of England for the hearty welcome they have given to us and for the generous hospitality they have extended to us.

The case of Burma is in some ways a special one, but we bring to the Conference in the fullest measure goodwill and co-operation, confident that the result of our joint deliberations will promote the political progress of Burma and satisfy the aspirations of its people and increase their prosperity and happiness. We have come to the Conference with high hopes that, if I may be permitted to adopt the words that you, Sir, used on another occasion only two days ago, our liberty will be broadened, so that we may live with you under the same Crown, enjoying that freedom in self-government which is essential for national self respect and contentment. As Burmans we love Burma our country. We believe in it and in the

greatness that lies before it. We look to England with friendship and affection and hope that we shall soon take our place with other Dominions as equal partners in the great British Empire.

Chairman: Your Highness, My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen: We have a little piece of business to do which will only keep us in this sitting for a few minutes. I understand that, as a result of the exchange of views privately, an agreement has been come to which enables me to propose this resolution:—

“ That a Committee to advise the Conference on the conduct of business shall be constituted, composed of the following sixteen Delegates, each of whom shall have the right to nominate another Delegate to take his place in his absence :

His Highness The Maharaja of Alwar.

Mr. Benn.

His Highness The Maharaja of Bikaner.

Sir Hubert Carr.

Colonel Haksar.

Sir Samuel Hoare.

Sir Akbar Hydari.

Sir Mirza Muhammad Ismail.

Mr. Jayakar.

Mr. Jinnah.

Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra.

The Marquess of Reading.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

Sir Muhammad Shafi.

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri.

Sardar Sahib Ujjal Singh.”

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

Chairman: That resolution having been adopted, the Session will now adjourn. The first sitting of the Committee that has just been appointed will be held at 3-30 this afternoon at St. James's Palace, and this Conference itself is adjourned until Monday, the 17th November, at 10-30 A.M., at St. James's Palace.

Plenary Session, 17th November, 1930.

Chairman: It is my honour, first of all, to read to you a communication which I have received from His Majesty's Private Secretary, Lord Stamfordham:—

"The King has received the Prime Minister's submission of the message of yesterday from the Indian Round Table Conference expressing gratitude to His Majesty for undertaking the opening ceremony and also thanking the Queen for the kindly solicitude which Her Majesty has displayed towards the Delegates. This communication* has been received with much satisfaction by Their Majesties."

There is nothing for me to say to-day except to welcome you most heartily to this Conference. My friends, there are two things that we will keep in mind. First of all, we are going to co-operate together; secondly, every one of us must be animated by the determination to succeed.

* The text of this was as follows:—

The Delegates to the Indian Round Table Conference at their first meeting, and as their first official act, desire to present their respectful duty to the King. The Delegates join in loyal gratitude to His Majesty for having honoured the opening of the Conference with His gracious presence, and for the inspiration which the words of His Speech have given them. They are most sensible of the kindly solicitude which Her Majesty The Queen has displayed towards them; and they desire to submit their grateful appreciation for the honour which, by these and other marks of favour, Their Majesties have done to the Conference.

THE GENERAL DISCUSSION.*

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru : Mr. Prime Minister, the responsibility which has been cast upon my shoulders in presenting the case of my country to you is very great, but I will beg some patience on your part, for the subject is great and complicated. It involves many delicate issues affecting not only India but the relations of India to England.

Let me tell you at the outset that we are here to add, if we can, a bright chapter to the history of the relations of England and India.

Mr. Prime Minister, you and other British statesmen have, in the long course of your political experience and duties, been accustomed to preside over, or to be associated with, so many Conferences of an international character that it ill becomes a humble politician like me from across the seas to tell you that so many hopes are bound up with the success of this Conference. An anxious, restless India is watching you. May I also add that the eyes of the whole world are on you. Not only are we Indians on our trial, but, if I may respectfully say so, and if I may beg you not to misunderstand me, the whole of British statesmanship is on its trial.

This is absolutely the first time in the history of the connection of India with England that such a big gesture has been made by England towards India. It is a gesture which means that Indians and Englishmen should sit round the table, not to enter merely into a clash of ideas, but, if possible, to evolve a constitution for the country, which may settle our difficulties for all time to come, and which may enable us to settle down to constructive work.

Mr. Chairman, I will only ask you to bear with me when I remind you of the circumstances under which this Conference has been called. Last year—I believe it was on the 31st October, 1929—His Excellency Lord Irwin, for whom, let me tell you frankly, I have a genuine admiration—a Viceroy who is very much misunderstood, to my surprise, in his country, and let me say also in my country, but whose heart is with us—I feel assured about it—made that famous announcement. The secret history as to how that announcement came to be made has yet to be written, but we must take that announcement as an accomplished fact. You pledged yourself there to certain ideas, to a certain policy, and this Conference has been convened to implement that policy. In his speech, which Lord Irwin delivered on the 9th July last to the Indian Legislature, he again referred to that matter in these words, that the purpose of this Conference was that the spokesmen of Great Britain and India would take free counsel together upon the measures which his Government would later present to Parliament, and if I may be permitted to refer to a letter which Lord Irwin addressed to my distinguished friend,

* See paragraph 2 of Introductory Note (p. 1).

Mr. Jayakar. and myself when we started on a mission which unfortunately has failed, His Excellency wrote as follows:—

“ It remains my earnest desire, as it is that of my Government and, I have no doubt, also that of His Majesty's Government to do everything that we can in our respective spheres to assist the people of India to obtain as large a degree of management of their own affairs as can be shown to be consistent with making provision for those matters in regard to which they are not at present in a position to assume responsibility. What those measures may be, and what provisions may be made for them, will engage the attention of the Conference; but I have never believed that, with mutual confidence on both sides. it should be impossible to reach agreement.”

It is in that spirit and for that purpose that we have come; and let me tell you, Sir, that we have come here across the seas in the midst of the gibes and ridicule of our own countrymen. We have already been described, in our country, as traitors to the cause. We have come here in the midst of that opposition, but we have brought with us a determination to argue with you, to discuss with you frankly and freely, to make our contribution to the solution of the problem, to make ourselves heard, but also to hear you, to invite you to make your contribution, so that in the end we may say that those who have already forecast the future were really false prophets.

It is in that spirit that I wish to present my case before you. Let me tell you that no greater mistake can be made by British statesmen and by my British friends—and I claim that I do possess some friends among the British—than to imagine that India stands to-day where she did even ten years ago. I think the idea of the progress that India has made during the last ten years could not have been better described than in the gracious words of our Sovereign on that opening day of this Conference. We have travelled a very long distance. Let that be realised. Let this time-worn theory that we are only a handful of men be abolished for good. Mr. Jayakar and I, during the months of July, August and September, were constantly travelling from one end of the country to the other, and we saw with our own eyes, we heard with our own ears, signs and cries which it would have been impossible for me or for him to imagine. When I read in the English Press descriptions of the situation in India my heart sinks. I am not making reference to these things with the object of frightening you. I am not holding out any threat. I am simply stating facts. I make a confession, an absolutely honest confession, that, so far as I am concerned, I have realised from the beginning the grave dangers of the Civil Disobedience movement to my country. But while I have realised the grave dangers of that movement, I have also realised the importance of placing a true interpretation on what it really represents. I beg of you on this occasion to rise superior to the small administrative view of this question and to take a broad and statesmen-like view and measure of the unrest that you find in

British Commonwealth, an equality which will give it a Government not merely responsive to, but responsible to the popular voice. Speaking for myself, I say—and I say it with all the conviction I possess, conviction based not merely on theory but on experience derived, if I may respectfully say so, from my official life, however brief it may have been—that it will not do for you to take a provincial view and offer provincial autonomy or anything of that kind, unless you couple with it a decided and clear change in the constitution of the Central Government. You must make that responsible to the Legislature. At this stage you may ask me, “Assuming that India wants a responsible Central Government, what is going to be the relation of that responsible Central Government to the Provinces, and what is going to be the relation of the responsible Central Government to the States?” That at once gives rise to the question whether our constitution should be of a federal character.

Sir, before I express any views may I make a very respectful appeal to some of my illustrious countrymen who are patriots first and Princes afterwards? It will not do for Their Highnesses—and I know that they are far from conceiving such a thing—to say that they are here only for the protection of their rights. Let me respectfully tell them that they are Indians first and Indian Princes next, and that they owe as much duty to the common Motherland as we do. I am not one of those who have a horror of Indian Princes. I make that confession publicly. I think the Indian Prince is every inch as patriotic as any one of us, and I take an earnest appeal to them not to confine their vision merely to what is called “One-third India.” I ask them to say whether at any time in history India was so arbitrarily divided as it is now geographically—British India or Indian India. I say we are one India. Let them move forward with the vision of an India which will be one single whole, each part of which may be autonomous and may enjoy absolute independence within its own borders, regulated by proper relations with the rest. I therefore ask them to come forth on this occasion and say whether they are prepared to join an All-India Federation. I express no definite opinion; I will not commit this Conference to any particular issue on this point. These issues have to be examined carefully and minutely. I do suggest, however, that, so far as we are concerned, we have a vision of a united India, and not merely of an India divided into so many compartments. I have no doubt that when H. H. The Maharaja of Bikaner addresses this Conference he will advert to these questions and that he will take us now into his confidence.

It seems to me that if you agree that there has got to be responsibility in the Centre, it is inevitable that you must ask yourself the question unitary or federal. Speaking for myself—and I speak in regard to this matter in my individual capacity—I am a very strong believer in the federal form of government. I believe that therein lies the solution of the difficulty and the salvation of India; and if I were to express my opinion freely I would welcome the

association of the Indian States with British India mainly for three reasons. I say that they will furnish a stabilising factor in our constitution. I further say that the process of unification will begin at once. I lastly say that, in regard to matters of defence, they will furnish a practical experience which is yet wanting in British India

For all these reasons I invite them to join this bigger Federation. The details of that have to be worked out. They were not present to the mind of the Government of India when they wrote their Despatch. The Government of India in their Despatch vaguely speak of a far-off distant Federation. With us it is a real live issue now. If we can come to some solution of that, I frankly think that nothing better can be achieved at this Conference.

Having said that much, if you will permit me, I will revert to the question of the form of government. I may be reminded by some of my friends that an absolutely unrestricted responsible government at the Centre is at the present moment an impossibility. I may be reminded that there is the question of law and order involved. I may be reminded that there are European interests involved; that there is the entire system of commerce involved; that there is finance, which is the basis of all constitution, involved. My answer is this. If these are difficulties, by all means face them; find a solution for them. But you ought not, and you cannot, treat

Minister will agree to transfer the British Army to the control of Indian Ministers. That question to my mind is not of immediate importance, but I do hope that people who talk like that do not mean to imply that no British officer will be willing to serve under any Indian fellow subject. At the present moment it so happens—and it has happened repeatedly during the last few years—that Indians hold the highest offices under the Crown, and I have not yet known a single instance in which a member of the Indian Civil Service or of any other Service has declined to take orders from his Indian superior on the ground that he is an Indian. I appeal to my late chief, Lord Reading. I had the honour at one time, if I may be permitted to say so, to be a Member of his Government, and I appeal to him to say whether the relations between the European Members of the Executive Council and the Indian Members of the Executive Council on the one hand, and between the Indian Members of the Executive Council and the Secretaries, most of whom were members of the Indian Civil Service, were cordial or otherwise. I should like to refer to a remarkable case which exists in India at the present moment. In Lahore the Chief Justice of the High Court happens to be a distinguished countryman of mine, Sir S. Lall, one of the most striking personalities in India. I have never heard a single Judge of the High Court say that he feels it a matter of disgrace that he should be presided over by an Indian Chief Justice.

I say, therefore, let us put it on the practical ground, but do not introduce the racial element into it. After all, the point of view that we take is this: You and we are subjects of the same King-Emperor; you and we belong to the same Commonwealth of Nations; and there ought not to be any feeling of superiority or inferiority, because so long as there is that feeling of superiority or inferiority India can never be happy and can never be contented.

Let us deal with the problem of the Army, therefore, in the manner in which practical statesmanship requires it to be done; but do not say to us that, because of these obstacles, we ought to go back to our own countrymen and say the utmost that we have been able to achieve by going six thousand miles and by talking to British statesmen of all the three Parties, is provincial autonomy.

Let me ask you only one thing. I would make a personal appeal to Lord Reading on this matter, because I believe, if there is one man in this assembly who understands the constitution of India from the legal and political point of view, it is my late chief, Lord Reading. I would ask him to consider this. Do you really think that it will make for peace and harmonious action if you give the Provinces provincial autonomy, which means responsible government and on the top of that have an irresponsible Central Government? Quite apart from questions of sentiment, quite apart from questions of a political character, I say that that machinery will break down in the course of a week. It will give rise to so many deadlocks, it will cause so many occasions of friction, that the machinery will break down.

The position is therefore plain and simple, and it is this. Take your courage in your hands; provide as many safeguards as you can, so long as those safeguards do not destroy the vital principle, and then go ahead with courage and with faith. Courage and faith, together with the common sense of the people of India, will come to your rescue. Their whole future is at stake. But do not say "You shall march so many paces". The time has long since passed by when India could be told to hold its soul in patience and to march to that far-off ideal through the ages. I very respectfully beg of you to change your outlook on the whole situation.

Mr. Prime Minister, I have already taken much more time than I intended, but before I resume my seat I should like to express the hope that you and we may work in the closest possible co-operation and that we may speak without mental reservations, because I believe there can be no greater crime against England or India than to speak with mental reservations on an occasion like this. I hope that you and we may succeed in evolving a constitution which will bring peace and contentment to my country, which will make the youth of my country look on their country with pride, with confidence and with assurance, and which will make your office and your name immortal in the history of India and of England.

H. H. The Maharaja of Bikaner: Mr. Chairman, we meet in no ordinary times to attempt no ordinary task. In our immediate concern is the peace, happiness and good government of three hundred and nineteen millions of people, looking to whatever government may be established for some relief from their present distresses, who I venture once again to assert—certain unhappy circumstances notwithstanding—are loyal to the core. What then would be the results if from any irresolution on our part—from unreason on one side, or reaction on the other, from timidity in one party and a refusal to recognise the essentials of constitutional government in another—we blenched from the work and failed of our duty to secure the greater contentment of India? It goes without saying that a very heavy responsibility rests on each and every one of us taking part in this Conference, and that the issues involved are really tremendous. It is impossible to minimise the magnitude of the task that lies before us; nor do I desire to under-rate the complexity of some of the problems involved. I am an optimist, but there is no use in shutting one's eyes to facts. I have seen in Bombay and elsewhere during my travels in British India how the masses in the districts are being affected. I wish I could adequately express the gravity of the situation. I have always declined to be moved by threats of dire consequences, nor have I submitted to being dictated to at the muzzle of the pistol. But undue regard for preconceived ideas and false notions of prestige or exaggerated fear of some possible consequences have, I feel it will be agreed, also to be guarded against; and I, for one—and here I feel that I speak for my Order as well as for the representatives

of British India who are gathered round this ancient hall—refuse to be made fearful by the difficulties ahead. Rather I find in them an inspiration to put forth the uttermost that is in me, in a spirit of confidence and of courage. The very immensity of the work makes it worth doing well.

His Majesty the King-Emperor was pleased to remind us at the opening of this Conference that “the last decade has witnessed . . . a quickening and growth in ideals and aspirations of Nationhood which defy the customary measurements of time”. I venture to appeal to you, Prime Minister and other Members of His Majesty’s Government, and to our colleagues here representing the British Political Parties, to take their courage in both hands, to throw their hearts over the fence and follow boldly after, in the conviction that the greater our vision and determination, the greater is our success likely to be and the richer in consequence the harvest which we all—British India and the Indian States, and Great Britain and the Empire—shall reap. The ultimate attainment of Dominion Status under the Crown is inherent in the declaration of policy in 1917, and has more recently received authoritative endorsement. Let us hitch our wagon to that star, fully realising that our sister States did not reach the end at one stride, but after evolution based on experience, that in the intervening stage certain safeguards and guarantees are imperatively necessary for the security of the body politic and all parts thereof, but looking straight on. Nothing worth having can be attained without facing some risks. These were taken when Lord Durham laid the foundations for the proud position which Canada enjoys to-day as the premier Dominion in our great Commonwealth, to the mutual benefit of Great Britain and Canada. Similar risks were run when Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman secured Dominion Status for South Africa with the happiest results, for which we had every reason to be grateful during the Great War only some five years later. I am equally convinced that if this Conference will but do the right thing by India, justly and magnanimously, my country will be a willing and contented partner in the Commonwealth. She will then be only too glad, side by side with the benefits of an honourable and independent position internally, to have all the power and resources of our mighty Empire always at her back. No half-hearted measures, and no tinkering with the constitution will. I beg you to believe me meet the situation. Many of our troubles in the past, and our troubles of the present, have arisen from these causes. Moreover when, in response to irresistible demands, some constitutional advance was made, it was often too late; and it wore the appearance of having been conceded with a bad grace and wrested from the British Government. So there never was a time in the history of India and of the Empire when courage—courage in thought, in aim, in constructive statesmanship—was more needed than now, when the great ambitions stirring India are struggling for constitutional expression. It is in the spirit of courage, confidence, imagination and liberal statesmanship, that I pray our deliberations may be guided.

From what standpoint then do we of the States approach this great task? I speak primarily for myself, though I believe I shall have the general agreement of the Princes and the Ministers representing our Indian States at this historic gathering. We are here specially to present the policies of the Indian States. First and foremost in those policies is an unflinching and unqualified loyalty to the Throne and Person of His Majesty the King-Emperor of India. With the traditions of centuries of kingship and with the instincts and responsibilities of hereditary rule ingrained in our being, the kingly idea and the monarchical system are bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh. Even if we were tempted to waken from this principle—which is impossible—the thought of the intense devotion of the Imperial House of Windsor to the interests of India would rekindle our faith. Three notable and encouraging messages from His Majesty still ring in our ears—the earnest plea for sympathy in dealing with Indian problems made at the close of the Indian tour as Prince of Wales; the watchword of hope given six years later at Calcutta; and the pledge that the Princes' privileges, rights and dignities are inviolate and inviolable renewed when the Chamber of Princes was inaugurated. In this threefold spirit of sympathy, hope and justice, encouraged by the gracious words addressed to this Conference when it was inaugurated on Wednesday, we bend with the greater optimism to the work that lies before us.

Linked with this devotion to the Crown is an unfaltering adhesion to the British Commonwealth of Nations. The old idea of Empire as signifying "dominion over palm and pine" has vanished; the concept of Empire as overlordship based on force was never true and now has not even the pale shadow of reality. The unity of the Empire was signally vindicated in the Great War. The basis of that unity was reshaped at the Imperial Conference of 1926, when it was declared that the constituent States are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any respect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown. Our attachment to the Empire or Commonwealth, call it what we may, is no mere matter of sentiment. It is based on the profound conviction that not only can each constituent State reach its full expression within these bonds and under the Crown, but a higher development, politically and economically, than it could attain as an isolated independent unit.

The territories of the Indian States are so interwoven with British India, so many of the more enterprising of our traders have business in the new commercial centres on the seaboard, which have grown up under the *Par Britannica* and the opening of the Suez Canal, that we must be influenced by the development of political ideas and institutions beyond our frontiers. But this is our affair. We know our States and our people: we live amongst our own folk and are in the most intimate contact with their needs and possibilities. We shall know how and when to adjust our system to any changing conditions; but we will do it in our own time and in our own way, free from all external interference.

Is there anything in adherence to these principles either opposed to, or inconsistent with, the fullest development of India until she takes her equal place as a constituent State in the British Commonwealth with the other Dominions, welded into an indivisible whole under the ægis of the Crown? I say, "No—a thousand times No." It is sometimes said that there are two Indias, British India and the India under the rule of her own Princes. That is true in a political sense; but India is a single geographical unit and we are all members one of another. We, the Princes, are Indians—we have our roots deep down in her historic past, we are race of the soil. Everything which tends to the honour and prosperity of India has for us a vital concern. Everything which retards her prosperity and shakes the stability of her institutions retards our own growth and lowers our stature. We claim that we are on the side of progress. One of the most welcome signs of the times is the material weakening of the idea that the Princes are opposed to the political growth of British India, and would range themselves—or allow themselves to be arrayed—against the realisation of the just hopes of their fellow-countrymen in British India. We have, therefore, watched with the most sympathetic interest the rise of that passion for an equal position in the eyes of the world, expressed in the desire for Dominion Status, which is the dominant force amongst all thinking Indians to-day. Those of us who have grown grey under the responsibilities of rule and the practical work of administration—and thirty-two years have passed since I assumed the active governance of the State of Bikaner—deplore some of the expressions of this urge. We appreciate the fact that when contracts are broken under the impulse of revolutionary fervour, they have to be re-knit in blood and tears, and a weary path of suffering and loss trodden before society marches forward again. But behind these untoward developments, which we hope and pray is only a passing phase, lies the struggle for equality springing from our ancient culture and quickened by years of contact with the liberty-loving and constitutionally minded British people.

It is, I submit, our duty to bend our energies to the task of satisfying this righteous demand without impairing the majestic fabric of law. How best can this be achieved? My own conviction is that if we are to build well and truly, we must recognise that associated with this geographical unity India is a land of some diversity. Our starting point, therefore, must be a recognition of this diversity;

our unity must be sought not in the dead hand of an impossible uniformity but in an associated diversity. For these reasons, the establishment of a unitary State, with a sovereign parliament sitting at Delhi, to which the whole people would look in small things as in large, is to my mind impossible. There would be no room in such a constitution for the Indian States; moreover, such a government would crack under its own imponderability. Would it not mean the harnessing of the most advanced to the chariot wheels of the least developed, and the slowing down of the general tide of progress? We of the Indian States are willing to take our part in, and make our contribution to, the greater prosperity and contentment of India as a whole. I am convinced that we can best make that contribution through a federal system of government composed of the States and British India. These two partners are of different status. The Indian States are already sovereign and autonomous of right, having the honour of being linked with the Crown by means of Treaties of "perpetual alliance and friendship" and unity of interests; British India derives whatever measure of authority it may possess by devolution. But it will not be beyond the wealth of experience available at this Table to devise a means of linking these differing units into a powerful federal administration.

As to the question whether, if a federal government is devised for India, the Princes and States will enter into association with it, the final answer must obviously depend on the structure of the government indicated and on other points involved, such, for instance, as certain necessary safeguards—constitutional and fiscal—for the preservation of the rights and interests of the States and their subjects. Federalism is an elastic term: there are several forms of federal government. Conditions in India are unique. We have no historical precedents to guide us; and the position of the Indian States is, I believe I am correct in saying, absolutely without parallel. All these and many other grave questions of policy and of detail will have to be examined and defined and settled first in Committee and in informal discussions. But, speaking broadly, the Princes and States realise that an All-India Federation is likely to prove the only satisfactory solution of India's problem. A Federation, on the lines I have attempted to sketch on other occasions, has, as I have previously said, no terrors for the Princes and Governments of the Indian States. We, however, recognise that a period of transition will necessarily intervene before the Federal Government is fully constituted, and that federation cannot be achieved by coercion of the States in any form. The Indian Princes will only come into the Federation of their own free will, and on terms which will secure the just rights of their States and subjects.

I would not venture on the impertinence of even suggesting what course is best for British India. As we demand freedom from interference in our own affairs, equally we shall refrain from thrusting our oars into matters which are not our direct concern; the arrangements between the Central and Provincial Governments in British India are matters primarily outside the purview of the Indian States. If our co-operation is sought, it will, I am sure, be gladly

The Princes and States fortified by the legal opinion obtained from some of the most eminent Counsel in Great Britain have found themselves unable particularly to accept such claims on the principles enunciated in this connection by the Indian States Committee, and have already taken up the matter with the Viceroy and British Government. Starting with the basic recognition that our Treaty Rights exist and must be respected; that they are with the Crown and cannot be transferred to any other authority without our agreement; and that they can be modified only with our free assent; three developments of the existing administrative machinery are essential for the smooth working of the new system, and indeed of any system. It is an open matter of complaint that our Treaty Rights have been infringed. I need not stress this point, for it has been publicly admitted by no less an authority than the Viceroy and Governor-General of India that the Treaty Rights of the States have been encroached upon, and that in some cases an arbitrary body of usage and political practice has come into being. The time has passed when issues of this importance can be decided *ex parte* by any government. We therefore attach the utmost importance to the establishment of a Supreme Court, with full powers to

entertain and adjudicate upon all disputes of a justiciable nature as to our rights and obligations guaranteed under our Treaties. This is another point which I need not labour, for it is a principle to which the leaders of political thought in British India have, I believe I am right in saying, lent their full support. Next, we claim that in the questions which arise concerning the purely internal affairs of the States their case should not go by default. That will be of still greater importance in the future. The King's Vicegerent in India is even now burdened with many and grievous responsibilities, which will be weighted under the new system of government; and here I would once again like to be associated in a respectful tribute to, and to express our deep admiration and gratitude for that great Viceroy, Lord Irwin. We think that it will be impossible for any man, however able, amid these grave pre-occupations, to give adequate personal attention to those questions affecting the States which come up for day to day decision, and for which he will be directly responsible to the Crown. For these reasons some of us press for the appointment of an Indian States Council, to work with the Political Secretary and to advise the Viceroy of the day. Thirdly, there will be the need for the classification of those administrative questions which are of common concern to British India and the Indian States. This classification will require the previous consent of the States. As we advance further on the road to Federation there are other issues which will need safeguarding; as they are in the nature of details they are not our main concern to-day.

With this contribution to the common task before us I have done. Before I sit down, may I ask forgiveness if, as an old soldier, I have unwittingly given offence to anyone by any bluntness of speech? I am inspired by one thought—service to my beloved King-Emperor and devotion to my Motherland. Akbar, the greatest of the Moguls, when he set out on the crowning adventure of his crowded life placed his foot in the stirrup of opportunity and his hands on the reins of confidence in God. I would commend to you on the threshold of our great enterprise—the conquest of anarchy and reaction in Hindustan and the assurance of our contentment and prosperity as a co-equal partner in our great Commonwealth—the words of Abraham Lincoln in circumstances not altogether remote from these:—

{ “With malice towards none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work that we are in.”

Mr. Jayakar: I did not expect to be called upon at such an early stage of the debate, and I was under the impression that, representing as I do the younger generation, I was to be the last of the three speakers on behalf of the British India Delegation. However, Sir, as you have commanded me to speak at this stage I shall accept your invitation in the sense that I shall put before you a few sentiments from the point of view of the younger men in India who are looking on the Round Table Conference. You have

been told by my esteemed friend, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, under what circumstances the Round Table Conference has been convened. I remember the debate in the Legislative Assembly in 1924, when the most important political party in India, over which my esteemed friend Pandit Motilal Nehru presided, passed a resolution—in 1924 and 1925, two successive years—calling the attention of British statesmen to the desirability of holding a round table conference. It may surprise British statesmanship that the very men who then desired the holding of a round table conference are to-day averse to attending the session of that round table conference. To me it is no wonder, and it is one instance of what an esteemed countryman of mine, the late Mr. Gokhale, said many years ago very pithily: "On all the portals of the Government of India is written in large letters the words 'Too late'. What would have satisfied India in the year 1924 is not satisfying India to-day, and, if I may say so, what will satisfy India to-day will not satisfy India a year hence. That is the lesson that I wish to put before this assembly, august as it is; and I can say with perfect confidence that we must proceed fast with our work, because time is, as the lawyers say, "of the essence of the contract." I repeat, without giving it as a threat, that time is of the utmost importance, because if India gets to-day what she wants she will be satisfied with many things which will not satisfy her six months hence.

Sir, I come from a Province where as possibly you have heard, the greatest activity of the Congress is going on. I have seen many things which very few have been privileged to see in the course of their political experience. I say with great confidence that the choice before your Government in India is a choice between constitutional government and chaos and disorder. How you will accept this choice it is for you to decide, but it is my duty to place before you the extreme gravity of the situation in India. As Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has stated, to-day we are standing on the threshold of great events in India. Whether you make them great in the constitutional field, or whether you make them great in the field of revolution and anarchy, it is for this Conference to decide. I can only say that great events are going to take place in India, whether they are great in the field of responsibility, constructive work and comradeship, or whether they are great in the field of opposition, bitterness, hatred and anarchy—that will depend very largely upon what we achieve at this Round Table Conference.

Since coming here I have had frequent talks with friends. I used to be a student in this city, many years ago, and I still retain most pleasant impressions of my days as a pupil in the rooms of one of your foremost Judges in the Court of Appeal to-day. I carried back with me 25 years ago pleasant memories of my experience as a pupil sitting cheek by jowl with my English friends, one or two of whom have since become great Judges of your Courts. A few have died. One or two have become eminent King's Counsel; and others have become great Englishmen. I therefore claim to have a few friends in England, and talking with them I have discovered that

the chief obstacles to India getting Dominion status can be put into three categories. I have met friends who say: "How can India have Dominion Status when she talks of severance with the Empire, and claims independence?" Many of my English friends have spoken of their fears as follows: "If we give you the first instalment of Reforms, namely, Dominion Status, you will make it a most powerful lever for severance from the Empire—the cry of independence." I do not know whether there are any friends on the opposite side in whose minds this threat is in operation; I can only say, knowing as I do my Congress friends intimately—and I was in contact with them only three months ago—that if you give India Dominion Status to-day, in the course of a few months the cry of independence will die of itself. If, on the other hand, we return empty handed from our labours in this Conference, it will be the surest way of raising in volume and in intensity this demand for independence.

I say, without any disrespect to my friends in India, that the cry of independence is a cry of despair, distrust and suspicion. It is a cry emanating from those who have convinced themselves, by reason of their past experience, that England does not mean to fulfil her promises to India. We have had several promises time after time. Only to take a recent experience; this time last year there was the Viceroy's great declaration. I was then in Bombay. It created very great enthusiasm. The idea of meeting British representatives face to face always appeals to a lawyer. There is a great fascination to a man bred in the law, as I am, to come in contact with men and to discuss face to face with them controversial questions. As I say, the Viceroy's declaration at that time created great enthusiasm in the city to which I belong, but unfortunately one damper after another came on that enthusiasm. Many of my political friends wanted to know the purpose for which this Round Table Conference was called. The great Viceroy, whose name we will always cherish, found himself in difficulty. He said, "I am not at liberty to mention what is the purpose of this Round Table Conference. Go to the Round Table Conference, face the members and ask them to define the purpose of their labours by being present at the Round Table Conference." I am an old cricketer. I believe in playing the game. I have therefore accepted the invitation and I have come here; but I would emphasise that, before we proceed with our labours, it is necessary for us to decide that India might feel satisfied as to what is the purpose of the Round Table Conference. If I may say so in all humility, the purpose is to make it possible for India to enter the British Commonwealth. If that is done to-day—and I am sure my friends on my right will agree—you will kill the cry of independence at once. That is a slogan in which, in the language of the bargainer, you ask for 16 annas in order that 14 annas may come to you. All business men know it. The cry of independence is proceeding from those who either do not believe that England wishes to give India Dominion Status or who very tactfully ask for independence in order that Dominion Status might come.

The second obstacle which has been put before me by my friends in England is the Army: how can Indians manage the Army? As Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru mentioned in his memorable words, we are quite agreeable to listen to any safeguards that may be suggested during the period of transition, in order that such transition may be made more easy and more safe for both sides. I am surprised that this talk about the Army arises in connection with a country in which there is all the fighting material for which one could wish. My Muhammadan friends, the Indian States, my own community, the Mahrattas, and the Sikhs, are all fighting people. India is a country which possesses traditional fighting talent which has continued over centuries, and which is quite capable of furnishing the Empire, if ever the time comes, with all the fighting material she may want. You talk of India as wanting in fighting talent—as wanting fighting talent even in defending herself. I am surprised that such talk should take place. It reminds me of a little episode which happened when Mr. Gokhale came here for the great Coronation, and which he was never tired of reciting to me. He was taken to one of your beautiful parks to see a review of the Sikh and Mahratta soldiers—and beautiful, tall and stalwart men they were. They marched past to the admiration of all the Englishmen and women present and they were clapped. Mr. Gokhale refused to clap. An English friend standing near said, “Why don’t you clap?”. Mr. Gokhale replied, “I reserve my admiration for that mighty people who have turned these soldiers into their hirelings.” That is the sentiment of the younger men in the country. There is splendid material in the land which you could harness, if you could only instil a little sentiment, patriotism, courage and self-government into their midst.

The third difficulty which was mentioned to me was “You are so divided amongst yourselves. You have your minorities—Muslims, Depressed Classes, Brahmins and non-Brahmins.” With regard to that I wish to mention one circumstance. I do not know whether my English friends will appreciate it, because possibly you have no minorities problem among you. Certainly you have not had that problem within the last 30 or 40 years. My solution of this minorities question is this—give them opportunities of common endeavour for their country, and then much of this difficulty will disappear. Give them opportunities of feeling that side by side they are working for their one country, that they have a common patriotism, a common patria, for which they can all work together. Do that, and a great deal of the difficulty will disappear. That is my solution, and the reason I suggest it is this: under the present system of government we very rarely get any chances of working together in the sense of working for our common country. Create that feeling. It can be created only by giving India complete freedom in the form of Dominion Status. Harness all these minorities together, and I have no doubt that a great deal of the discontent which arises at present will disappear. That is the solution for the question of minorities.

Lastly, I come to an obstacle which has been mentioned to me. It is said, "Suppose India is given Dominion Status; what about the Indian States? Do they feel like you? Are they prepared to come into a Federation? Are they patriotic? Do they feel that they are Indians?" The answer to that has just been given by the noble scion of the house of Bikaner, who spoke before me. As Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru rightly remarked, the Indian Princes are first Indians and then Princes. Our deliberations during the next few days will make it perfectly clear that a common patriotism actuates them, as it actuates British Indians.

Let me say that we are quite ready to do this in order to create a foothold for the Indian States: we will not insist on impossible terms of Federation. I do not wish to go into the vexed question of Federation or a unitary form of government; although that question has been stated as the subject-matter of discussion, you, Sir, have very wisely ruled that we may speak on any constitutional question. Therefore I do not wish to go into that question because that is for the experts to decide in Committee. I can only say, speaking for those whom I represent in this Conference, and speaking with great confidence and assurance, that we will not insist on impossible terms of Federation so far as the Indian States are concerned. We shall insist only on such terms as most of the Indian States are prepared to accept at present. We have no desire to interfere unduly at all in the internal affairs of the Indian States; we are quite prepared to wait until they of themselves come into line with our ways.

I remember a characteristic paragraph in that memorable Montagu-Chelmsford Report, as we called it in India, where, ten years ago, this problem was anticipated, and in a memorable paragraph almost poetic like an epic, the authors of that Report stated what is eternally found true, and what has certainly been found true in India. They said that when you create these processes of reformation in one part of India you cannot have any barriers or frontiers beyond which they will not go. Create these forces of reformation, set these processes to work, and the Indian States will not remain immune from their progress for long. It is impossible to conceive of a free British India without conceiving of free Indian States in the course of the next ten, fifteen or twenty years. We are content to wait, so that these slow processes may operate, and so that in the course of time Their Highnesses can think of an Assembly in their own territory and of handing over responsibility to their own subjects. That is a question of time. We are a very patient set of politicians in British India, and we are content to wait.

We shall therefore not insist on impossible terms, and all that we say to the Indian States is this: "There are concerns of a common character: sit alongside us and thrash them out. We have nothing to do with your internal affairs." If they will accept a supreme tribunal, a supreme court of justice, and if all matters which are in dispute between the Indian States and British India

and between them and their subjects, can be referred to this supreme court of justice—over which I hope in course of time a man of the eminence and erudition of Lord Sankey will preside—as long as the Indian States agree to this mode of arbitrament between themselves and their subjects and with British India and say: “We voluntarily submit to the jurisdiction of this tribunal”—by what name it is called is immaterial—as soon as that is admitted, then, to a politician of my mind, the question is solved. I will therefore not insist on tinkering with their internal administration; I leave that to the processes of time, and I have no doubt that in the course of time, when the rest of India is progressive, is free, is democratic, and has ideas of right and wrong based on human dignity and personal rights, the same processes will go beyond the frontiers of British India, because these processes recognise no frontiers and admit no barriers.

This is an invitation which I am privileged to make to the States, and let me give them an assurance that so far as we are concerned, we will raise no obstacles. I wish to give a similar assurance to those friends in front of me who represent British interests in India. I am aware, Sir, that a great many commercial interests are at stake in British India. I have a few friends in commercial circles who have invested millions and millions of rupees in British trade. There is no desire at all that there should be any kind of inroad upon the rights of the commercial people at all. All that they wish to do they can do as citizens of India. We may include them in a definition of the law so that they become domiciled Indians. That is a matter merely of phrasing, a matter of definition. But I can assure them that we are quite willing to sit down and accept safeguards which will give them an equal chance with British Indians. Let me, however, give them one warning—that they will not enjoy the monopoly they have enjoyed, so far as it was enjoyed, on the simple ground that in their skin there is less pigment than in mine. Monopolies they have enjoyed on that ground they will find very difficult to maintain, but any other rights they have as citizens of India will remain. We are quite prepared to accept any safeguards, and I think there is enough intelligence in this gathering to devise safeguards to protect all legitimate interests. I say that England’s main interest in India is commercial. I think there are five hundred or one thousand families who send their younger sons to India to make a career for themselves, but that is a problem affecting only a few families. The problem of the ordinary man in dealing with India is mainly commercial. If you exclude these families to whom I have alluded, who are only a handful compared with the rest of the population, then I say your main problem in India is commercial. You want your productions to be sold in that country, and the consuming power of 330 million people is a powerful asset in our hands. It is a country in which your products can be sold. You have just ended a Conference at which Imperial Preference was discussed. May I say that I believe that, from the point of view of the commercial man, a contented community is a much better customer than a discontented one?

Already your trade is in great jeopardy. In one city only, *viz.*, Bombay, there are British goods worth five crores lying in the warehouses. Those goods cannot be moved, much less sold. Do you want this state of things to be intensified? Your interests are mainly commercial, and therefore it is surely better for you to have a contented customer, a rich customer, who can put his hand in his pockets and bring out pounds with which to buy your goods, rather than a poor and discontented customer. I submit that prosperity is necessary for the improvement of your trade. I am not speaking of the other moral forces, like friendliness, like comradeship—because they come under the terms of psychology of the mind—but even from the point of view simply of material interests, you should give absolute Dominion freedom, Dominion Status, to India in order that your trade might prosper.

Plenary Session, 18th November, 1930.

H. H. The Maharaja of Alwar: The longest night seems to be passing away and the sorest trouble seems to be coming to and end at last. The seeming corpse appears to be awakening, and a voice is coming to us away back where history and even tradition fails to peep into the gloom of the past, coming down from there—reflected as it were from peak to peak of the infinite Himalaya of knowledge, of love and of work.

From India, this Motherland of ours, a voice is coming unto us, gentle, firm and yet unmistakable in its utterances, and is gaining volume as it passes by, and behold! the sleeper is awakened. Like the breeze from the mountains it is bringing life into the almost dead bones and muscles. The lethargy is passing away, and only the blind cannot see, or the perverted will not see, that she is awakening, this Mother of ours, from her deep, long sleep.

None can resist her any more; never is she going to sleep any more. No outward powers can hold her back any more, for the infinite giant is rising to her feet.

Mr. Chairman, Members of His Majesty's Parliaments and Fellow Sons of our great Motherland, I greet you in these words.

I invoke the highest blessing of Providence, that wisdom, strength, dignity and co-operation may guide our deliberations for the service of our country. Remember that this Conference at which we have assembled, has to some extent the destinies of 300 millions—one-fifth of the population of the human race—in its hands. This India is the ancient land where philosophy and spirituality founded their first home. It is here that they dared to peep into the very mysteries of Heaven. It is the same India, which, through its inherent structure being on true and solid foundations, has withstood the shocks of centuries, of hundreds of evils, of manners and customs. It is the same land which has been firmer than any rock in the world with its indestructible life. Many times is one told that looking into the past only degenerates and leads to nothing; but surely it is out of the past, it is on the past, that the future must be built. Look back, therefore, as far as you can; drink deep of the eternal foundations of Divine Love and Spirituality that are behind and, after that, look forward with heads held erect and march onward to make India brighter, greater and much higher than she has ever been. Remember the blood that courses in our veins. We must have faith in that blood that we build an India yet greater than she was.

The problems in India are more complicated, more momentous than the problems in any other country. Race, Religion, Language, Government, all these together make a nation. We see how in Asia, and especially in India, race difficulties, linguistic difficulties, social difficulties, and national difficulties all melt away before the

unifying power of spirituality. Therefore, for the well-doing of our national cause we must give up all our little quarrels and differences. Remember above all things that our ancestors look down upon us, and they will do so with contempt on their children if they quarrel about minute differences. It is when the national body is weak that the disease germs—in a physical, social or political state, or even in an intellectual state—crowd into the system. To remedy it, therefore, we must go to the roots of the disease, and the one tendency will be to strengthen the man, the mind and the body. It is culture that withstands shocks, not a simple mass of knowledge. Therefore, my friends, let us do nothing that will divide us, for divisions will weaken us and degrade us all the more. You all know that at this psychological moment the whole world is watching us. The solution will not be obtained by dragging down the higher, but by raising the lower up to a higher level. To make a great India, therefore, the secret lies in organisation, accumulation of power, but above all in the co-ordination of wills. Have that faith in ourselves, in that eternal power, first lodged in our soul, and then we shall revive the whole of India. Let this be our determination, and may He the Lord Who comes again and again for the salvation of His own people—as is described by many of the different Scriptures of the world—lead us all to the fulfilment of our aim—the uplift of India, the good of the Empire.

We must now come down to mundane affairs, and Federation is the question before us. I am not enchanted with that word as a mere form of expression: to me "the United States of India" sounds more grand. Here are the representatives of two Indias, to-day each possessing different religions but united in the common bond of patriotism which permeates throughout our respective territories and provinces. We are united in the service of our country: united in our co-operation with the British Empire, of which we form a part—the highest symbol of whose political link is the King-Emperor. The two Indias are politically separate in their administration, and in order to understand the source of their existence we must—but for only a few brief moments—peep into history. The East India Company, towards the downfall of the Mogul Empire, consolidated its organisation and marched forward, conquering territories that in those days were divided between the decaying central sovereignty and States, some of which had existed for a long time, and others which had come into being through new opportunities. It is in such conditions that this Company carved out for itself territories which, excluding Burma, now amount to one-half of India—called British India. This Company, on the other hand, instructed by its directors, entered upon Treaty Alliances, Engagements, Sanads and Agreements with Indian States, which still exist, as the result of which at the present day the other half is called Indian States. With regard to the India of the States, when opportunities come we shall put forward our points of view in greater detail, but here I will content myself with stating that we seek no new territories: we seek no new powers but the practical application of our Treaties and Alliances—consecrated by several

Proclamations and speeches from Queen Victoria and all the succeeding Sovereigns of England, the British Parliament and Viceroys to the present day. I will conclude this statement in two sentences. Usage, sufferance and political practice have, for diverse reasons, encroached upon these sacred domains of our Treaties, and what we desire is that such extra rights outside our Treaties, assumed without our consent, and sometimes without our knowledge, may be frankly and openly discussed, and should be decided only by mutual consent; otherwise our Treaties between the Crown and ourselves have no meaning. We know how sacred the Crown and the British people respect their pledged word and so we have faith that when the British peoples recognise the simple truth that we want no more than that those solemn Treaties with us should be observed in practice also, they will, we feel sure, appreciate that we make no new demands but desire that the simple truth should be recognised and practised.

I now turn to British India. Those who are its representatives are perhaps best able to speak on this subject; but there are two alternatives, which I can best define by the terms "Eastern and Western" conceptions. Talking of the first, there are many who hold the view—however prosaic or antiquated it may sound—that British India may be formed again into Indian States. I will not occupy your time in discussing the details of the problem, however logical and interesting they may be, because I have not the time on the first day except to state (a) that it brings true Swaraj as a living reality considerably nearer; (b) that it perpetuates the link with the Crown through its representative, the Viceroy of India. With Hindu, Muhammadan, Sikh and other States so formed it would set at rest communal questions. Above all, it maintains in strong bonds commercial and trade relations with England. It necessitates an Imperial Army to safeguard the Crown's obligations and to protect the ports and frontiers, with the internal army of the States maintained for security and assistance in emergencies. It ensures religious liberties to every section of India's population, and it carries on the tradition of India's rule according to her past history of hundreds of centuries. And finally, coming to Federation, or what I prefer to call "The United States of India," it immediately simplifies the problem of the Rulers uniting in a common body to work out the problems of India. Here is the shortest and the quickest way to Dominion Status. This is what would be an indigenous growth.

The alternative to this had its first seeds sown in a little known Despatch by Sir Charles Wood, the grandfather of the present Viceroy, who was then Secretary of State, and who initiated the idea of the English language being the medium of education and government. This was followed by Lord Macaulay, who strengthened this theory. Gradually this system has grown, which culminated first in the Minto-Morley Reforms, where the latter statesman, however, was opposed to the introduction of democratic organisations in India. It is from the time of Mr. Montagu, that passionate

lover of India—my country—that events took a definite turn towards responsible self-government. Here the irony of fate exhibits itself, for, as we learn from Lord Ronaldshay's book, this term was devised by Lord Curzon, who was no less opposed than Lord Morley to democratic institutions for India. This I am sure will be generally acknowledged to be a Western system of rule and, therefore, in India not a growth but a graft. But having said so much I now come to my main point, that, if this system is now accepted by British India as the best method for her advance, if that is, as declared also, the final policy of the British peoples towards India, what do I conceive to be the opinion of the States? We realise all that this innovation implies in an Eastern country. We know that one word, "Franchise," alone has originated communal friction. We are not oblivious how it has created complexities of adjusting the future relations of a democratic India with the Indian States. There is, further, the proposition of this ideal truly permeating down to the masses and grasping them in its hold for the good of all.

May I frankly state with all good-will that when I first began to know of the path that was chalked out before British India on these lines, I was reluctantly reminded of an old Irish tune "It's a long, long way to Tipperary." However, when I have said this I have said enough. I have deliberately done so; for how else could I reconcile myself with the statements that I am going to make regarding British India's future, and the other India of the States, administered on ancient and traditional lines? I have certainly sought in doing so no popularity or favours. Now, if, as I have said, this is the goal that British India chooses, and if this is the goal which the British people have decided to place definitely and perpetually before British India, let me say equally truthfully that I wish British India God speed. I wish—and most earnestly wish—that the goal of India's freedom within the Empire, as a self-governing Dominion may be reached as early as possible. Personally speaking, the sooner that goal is achieved, the happier I shall be; for who is there of India that does not wish our Motherland to achieve her rightful place alongside the other sister Dominions? Understand me: why I emphatically state this is because I have the inherent conviction that the sooner British India has freedom within these boundaries, the sooner will India be able to have her own constitution through which it can revitalise into a true and traditional India. I go so far as to say, without any hesitation—and I would not be true to myself or to the land of my birth and I hold opinions to the contrary—that India should achieve her position on a footing of equality with her sister Dominions within the Empire, and arrive at the situation of a fully self-governing Dominion Status as early as possible. My aim in saying so is not other than that the larger Empire may find a grateful India co-operating whole-heartedly in making this Empire, to which we are proud to belong, something even greater.

A united India will be the finest and truest jewel and the strongest force in the cause of our Empire. Under this system I am

again to the proposition, called at present by the name of Federation, where my ideal is the "United States of India" within the Empire. We are assembled at this table to devise means and ways in order to achieve this end by co-operation, and I am sure you will not find our States lagging behind in joining hands in order to arrive at a happy solution.

We are quite conscious of what it means. We know what all big changes imply. It may necessitate at first a little more injustice. It may mean a little less efficiency at first. It must mean larger sacrifices on everyone's part—the States, and, perhaps, some of the majorities and minorities. But for our country's cause, for the cause of India, for the cause of the Empire, shall we stop short for personal communal or narrow-viewed considerations? Our lives will pass away, but our country will remain. Then at least let it be said we were the true Sons of our Motherland, India.

I will conclude this statement with these words. When British India and Indian Princes came together on the first occasion within my memory to discuss problems of the Empire, it was during the War, at a Conference, where Lord Chelmsford invited representatives from both Indias to discuss questions regarding the performance by India of her duties towards the great cause that in those momentous days hung in the balance. I stated then that there would be people standing outside the doors of that house to ask what we had gained in this War Conference. I further stated that my reply would be that we had come at a time when the Empire was in need, and that was no occasion for demands or gains. We came with the will to give whole-heartedly of what lay in our power for the Empire's cause, and we asked for nothing. Indeed, that was the time when it was our duty to give—however great or small our capacity—of what lay in us to the British Government.

Mr. Chairman—and through you I speak to England—to-day has come the hour of India's need, and to-day British India and the Indian States have assembled together for the second time at another Conference in the centre of the Empire. Mr. MacDonald is the first Prime Minister, in my time, who has visited India. He knows her more intimately than many of his colleagues. We can appreciate that he may not have a very large majority in Parliament. But we know he has a tender corner in his heart for my land as we, many of us, have for his. We have no desire to take the bit between our teeth and to run away, which means going astray. Nay, we are with you, with England, but it is now England's turn to come to our assistance and to help India to reach that position beyond which we have no desire to go—India a sister Dominion within the Empire.

We are grateful to the Prime Minister for what he has already clearly stated in his Guildhall speech, when he said, "With the representatives of India and with the Princes we shall be engaged in the same task of broadening liberty, so that we may live with them under the same Crown, they enjoying the freedom in self-government which is essential to national self-respect and contentment."

This will surely make a grateful India that will be England's greatest strength. Then we will prove to the world that our connection of the East with the West, that came through Destiny, has worked out the great problems of life in harmony. Surely then we shall evolve a civilisation which may well be the envy of the world. This ideal will be achieved for the glory of Britain and India. Then Oh! England and India, as God's great children, unite in that aim, and work according to the design of Providence to produce that result, which may go down in the annals of the world as the purpose of God, namely, service of His Creation—Humanity.

Oh! England, rise above your immediate political or trade interests, hold India's hand in her hour of need and make India great that England may be greater; and, Oh! India, submerge all your communal or political differences and embrace the hand of England and make her great in order that India may be greater. Thus, both united in bonds of unity and friendship, fulfil that destiny that Christ, Muhammad and the Vedas taught, the destiny of self-realisation, and through it the cause of Man throughout the world. May we thus leave some footprints behind so that our progeny may know that East and West, which were differentiated by races, colours and religions, have, through friendship with England, arrived at that great position which will be the glory of God and the pride of Man.

(At this point the Prime Minister left the Meeting, and the Deputy President, Lord Sankey, took the Chair.)

Sir Muhammad Shafi: My Lord Chancellor, when, on his return to India, His Excellency Lord Irwin made the historic announcement of 31st October, 1929, giving a more precise definition of the policy of His Majesty's Government towards the ultimate goal of India than had been done in the declaration of 20th August, 1917, and stating that His Majesty's Government intended to invite the representatives of British India and Indian India to a Round Table Conference in London, so that an agreed settlement of the Indian constitutional problem might be arrived at, the two great organisations of the Indian Mussalmans—the All-India Muslim League and the All-India Muslim Conference—welcomed that announcement in the main for two reasons. In the first place, they realised that when the Government and the people of a country are confronted with such difficult and complicated political problems as is the case now in India, a round table conference, at which the representatives of the parties concerned may have a full and frank exchange of views in order to bring about an agreed settlement, is the most effective way of realising the end in view. In the second place, they believed that where the political situation is so grave as it is at present in India, calling for immediate solution, a round table conference is also the most expeditious way of meeting the situation.

And now that this Round Table Conference has been opened by His Majesty our King-Emperor in person, in a gracious speech vibrating with the love of India and with sympathy for the legiti-

mate aspirations of her people, I, for one, refuse to believe that, with some of the best brains of England and of India assembled round this table, we shall not arrive at a satisfactory solution of the problems which both India and England have to face; a solution which, while satisfying the legitimate aspiration of the Indian peoples, will thereby strengthen the link which binds England and India together.

My Lord Chancellor, ninety-seven years ago, during the debate on the first Government of India Bill of 1833, the late Thomas Babbington Macaulay, who had taken a prominent part in the preparation of that Bill, observed as follows:—

“The destinies of our Indian Empire are covered with thick darkness. It is difficult to form any conjecture as to the fateful result for a State which resembles no other in history, and which forms by itself a separate class of political phenomena. The laws which regulate its growth and decay are still unknown to us. It may be that the mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system, that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government, that having become instructed in European knowledge they may in some future age demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not, but never will I attempt to avert it or retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history.”

That was the glorious vision which the late Lord Macaulay saw when introducing that measure in the House of Commons. The dawn of the day when that vision may be realised has now come.

Unfortunately thereafter, if I may venture so to put it, the British Parliament succumbed to what can only be described as sleeping sickness in its relations with India, for we find that it was not until 1861, some thirty years after, that a Bill was introduced in the House of Commons for the first time recognising the need for associating Indian Representatives in the work of legislation in that country. But that association was a very limited one, secured only through nomination. Again the British Parliament went to sleep, and slept for over forty years, and it was not until the year 1909 that the elective principle was introduced into the Legislative Councils of India. Meanwhile India had gone on advancing rapidly. The influence of Western education, the study of British constitutional history, the study of French and Italian history had aroused in the minds of educated Indians dreams which Macaulay, at any rate, had contemplated when the Bill of 1833 was introduced.

The result was that the tardy measures taken at such long intervals by the British Parliament, instead of satisfying the aspirations of the Indian peoples, gave further impetus to those aspirations. It is a curious fact in history that political aspirations have a very strange way of growing. What may satisfy a people to-day, if not given in time, will not satisfy them to-morrow. That is what has happened in India.

Shortly after the Act of 1909, a great war broke out—a war which gradually drew into it almost all the leading nations of the world. During that war India came forward to prove her devotion to the British connection in that life and death struggle in which the very existence of the Empire itself was in danger. India came forward to prove her devotion to the British connection by taking her share of the burden spontaneously, and by providing for the armies of England over one million recruits—soldiers who vindicated the honour and the name of their country on the various battlefields of Europe, Asia and Africa.

The part taken by India during this unparalleled world conflagration gained for her her legitimate position in the international affairs of the world as a signatory to the Treaty of Versailles and an original member of the League of Nations. But within the British Commonwealth of Nations, curious as it may appear, she still continued to occupy an inferior position. After the conclusion of peace, until the appointment of the Royal Commission, unfortunately a succession of events took place in India which added to the various causes of unrest in that country influencing the Indian mind. When His Majesty's Government was pleased to appoint the Royal Commission, India was absolutely excluded from it. No representatives of India were appointed to it, with the result that the unrest in that country increased tenfold. And now we have to face a situation which in all earnestness is indeed grave.

When I see articles in the newspapers stating that all the unrest in India is confined only to the educated classes, and that the uneducated masses, or Indians living in rural areas, have no sympathy whatever with the National movement which is going on in India, I am more than surprised. It would be very amusing if it were not so tragic. Do writers who indulge in that sort of writing realise that hundreds of thousands of India's soldiers, who took part in the Great War and who have seen with their own eyes what other people are in their own countries, have returned to India, and after demobilisation, have dispersed all over the rural areas of the country, living in villages, talking to their fellow villagers? They have told their fellow villagers what they have seen in Europe and in the Near and Middle East. Do these writers realise what a deep and widespread effect the stories which these demobilised soldiers have told their countrymen have had in the villages and remote corners of rural India; what a deep and widespread effect they have had on the minds of Indian villagers?

Just look for a moment at what is going on now in India. This Civil Disobedience, which we have openly condemned not only in England but in India, is that movement limited to the educated classes? No doubt the movement is led by the educated classes, but who are the men who are facing all the trials, all the troubles, which this Civil Disobedience movement has given rise to? They belong to the uneducated masses. To say that the uneducated masses are entirely out of touch with the national movement that is going on in India is, if I may venture to say so, the action—

according to the Oriental saying—of a pigeon who closes his eyes when the cat is approaching him, thinking that thereby he is safe.

Fortunately among the British Delegations here there are at least three statesmen who know that I am a Punjabi, and that we Punjabis are not easily alarmed. Indeed, the greater the difficulty, the more firm, the more cool and the more calm Punjabis become. They also know that I have been, in the last 40 years of my public life in India, the strongest supporter of the British connection in India—so much so that on occasions I have been called a reactionary by my own countrymen. It is I who say that the situation in India is grave, very grave.

If a solution, calculated to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Indian peoples and thereby to strengthen the tie which binds England and India together, is not attained by this Conference, I tremble to think what the situation will be. Now that we have met in order to try to find that solution, it is my business, as spokesman to-day of my community, of the Muslim group, to tell you what we, the representatives of the Muslim community in this Conference, think. Our position is very simple. To repeat what I said in the Viceregal Lodge at Delhi in November, 1924, we want our countrymen in India to rise to that stature to which other people have risen in their own countries. We want India to attain Dominion Status as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

I say we want India to rise to her full stature within the British Commonwealth of Nations for this reason. In the new conditions which have been brought into existence, as a result of the wonderful progress which science has made, and as a result of the world forces which are now actually in operation as a consequence of the Great War, no country in the world, however rich or powerful, can afford to lead an isolated life. The tendency of modern international movements is towards the association of nations and countries for the purposes of security, of mutual help, and co-ordination of effort. Therefore we Mussalmans of India realise that the British Commonwealth of Nations is there for India to be associated with it, and to continue to be associated with it, for her own benefit and in her own interests. That is the deep-rooted conviction in our minds, and that is the reason of our traditional loyalty to the British connection. At the same time, it is perfectly natural for the seventy-one millions of His Majesty's Mussalman subjects to insist upon this—that in the constitutional and administrative evolution of India they must have their legitimate share both in the Provincial and in the Central Government. I do not desire on the present occasion to enter into the details of the claims which the Mussalman community has to put forward in this connection. That is a matter which will have to be discussed in the Committees. Some of our own Committees are already considering that matter, and I trust they will be able to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion.

To our mind, in view of India's vast extent, in view of her territorial divisions well recognised for centuries past, and in view of the other complicated conditions which obtain in India, there is only one form of government, one basis for the future constitution of India, which alone will suit the circumstances of the case—and that is the federal system. We, therefore, welcome the declarations, made by their Highnesses the Maharaja of Bikaner and the Maharaja of Alwar on behalf of their Princely Order, that the Indian States are willing to come into an All-India Federation. To me, as a constitutional lawyer, a self-governing India side by side with an Indian India, having its relations with the Crown, is a hopelessly impossible conception. A Federation of India must include both British India as well as Indian India. In so far as British India is concerned, we must, as is the case in every other kind of structure, build upwards and not downwards. Therefore I welcome the recommendation made in certain quarters of granting provincial autonomy to the Provinces. These will be the federal units of our All-India Federation in the future. But the Mussalman group have no hesitation in saying that that is not enough—that responsibility must also be introduced in the Centre. How far that responsibility should go is a matter which will be discussed in the Committees hereafter. We are willing that for the transitional period certain vital reservations might be made. That is to the interests of India itself, and, in consequence, we have no objection to that. You have seen that the Report of the Royal Commission has been condemned in India by every school of political thought, mainly on the ground that it does not propose to introduce responsibility in the Centre.

(At this point the Prime Minister returned to the Meeting and resumed the Chair.)

To the British Delegations I have one final appeal to make before I sit down. Believe me, a happy and contented India will be a source of immense strength to the British Commonwealth of Nations. Take your courage in your two hands. The situation is grave. When a situation is grave far-sighted statesmanship requires that it should be handled with wisdom and generosity. Taking your courage in your two hands, do what you did in South Africa shortly after the conclusion of the South African War. What has been the result? During the sittings of the Imperial Conference, which I had the honour of attending on behalf of my country, nothing struck me more than the way in which the representatives of South Africa, throughout the deliberations of the Conference, upheld the tie which binds South Africa and England together. Believe me, the satisfaction of legitimate aspirations brings contentment, and contentment awakens feelings of love and affection for those who have satisfied those legitimate aspirations. If the aspirations of educated India are satisfied, the result will be that the tie between India and England will be strengthened. Then all your Imperial problems—the problem of Empire defence, the

problem of inter-Imperial trade, even the problem of Empire unemployment—will be solved within a measurable distance of time.

That is my appeal to the members of the British Delegations. Wisdom and sympathy is what is required on this occasion—that wisdom and sympathy with which Lord Irwin is handling the situation in India to-day. To those who have been attacking Lord Irwin I would say this: but for Lord Irwin's handling the situation as he has done in India, to-day the situation would have been ten times worse.

In the name of India, and in the name of the British Commonwealth of Nations, of which India forms an integral part, and hopes to be an equal partner with the other Dominions, I earnestly beg of you, representatives of the British Delegations, representatives of the Indian States Delegation and representatives of the British India Delegation, to realise the gravity of the situation and to give your undivided attention to a satisfactory solution of the grave problem with which we are confronted—a solution which, while satisfying the legitimate aspirations of the people of India, will at the same time strengthen the link which binds England and India.

H.H. The Maharaja of Rewa : Mr. Chairman, I find that now my turn comes to speak after so many eminent brother Delegates from India have spoken before me. We have heard most illustrious speeches made by the Indian Princes and by the most capable British India leaders—leaders who have a command of law and advocacy—and it will be a somewhat difficult task for me to express the claims of India, and my own views, in any better language than has already been used.

When I was asked to attend this Conference to represent the conservative element among the Indian States, I was aware that the occasion would be one of the first importance. I am forced to confess, however, that the extreme importance of the occasion has been very much more fully brought home to me by the opening speeches to which I listened yesterday and to-day. It seems to me, without exaggeration, that a nation is being brought to birth. More than ever before, I am conscious of the measure of the task before us, and I realise that we shall require every ounce of wisdom, patience, goodwill, adaptability and imagination which everyone of us has to contribute, if these great problems are to be successfully solved.

I am conscious that a heavy burden of responsibility has been laid on me. It must seem strange to some that, in a country whose ways of life are so ruled by custom and tradition as India, there should be no political party which calls itself Conservative. Yet I believe that there is scarcely one of my fellow Delegates who would submit without protest to the designation of Conservative. So far, at least, as designation goes, I stand alone. My task is in some ways a thankless one. It is made more difficult by the fact that, on the personal side, I am entirely without experience of the public discussion of affairs; and I ask the forbearance of all here, and of

those in India for whom I speak, if through inexperience I prove an indifferent advocate of my cause. At the same time I feel greatly honoured that I have been chosen to take part in these deliberations, and however faulty my advocacy may be, I am encouraged and upheld by the conviction that half humanity shares the views which it falls to me to propound. I feel certain that not only among the millions who till the soil of India, but among all sober-minded politicians and statesmen there must be a large measure of support for, and sympathy with, those who counsel a cautious advance, and preach the dangers of precipitation and short-cuts. I believe, moreover, that when once power is given to India to shape her own destinies, a strong party of experienced and responsible politicians will emerge, which will call itself the Conservative Party; for the chief ingredient in Conservatism is, in my view, a sense of responsibility. Such a sense of responsibility has not so far had an opportunity to develop, and the constitutional advancement of India will provide it with the opportunity for which it is waiting. The energy that is now being devoted to gaining that advancement will, when the victory is won, be converted to the consolidation and preservation of the position that has been gained. I do not claim that the conservative point of view has a monopoly of wisdom and foresight; but I do not, on the other hand, admit that the progressive point of view rallies to its banners the whole available stock of energy or idealism. I do, however, suggest that in the world at large, the conservative elements are the great repository of experience, and that they have therefore much of value to contribute to the common stock.

none in my loyalty to these ties, and in the sincerity of my desire for India's happiness and prosperity in the future.

Before I begin to state my position I wish to make one point clear. To guard against possible misunderstanding, let me say here that in my approach to these problems I am dealing mainly with those aspects which concern the States.

Perhaps I can best define the conservative attitude by saying that we differ from other schools of thought less as to the object to be achieved than as to the pace and method of achievement. A good car needs a brake as well as an accelerator; a ship requires an anchor as well as engines. The proverbial difference between "haste" and "speed" is a truth so commonplace that we are apt to be impatient when we are reminded of it, but it is the function of the Conservative to insist on the truth of truths, so old that they are sometimes forgotten. Each one of us as an individual learns such truths for himself by experience, sometimes bitter; I merely ask that we should apply to the problems of statecraft the caution and restraint which we exercise in the daily round of our individual lives.

One of the most difficult aspects of the problem which concerns us all is in my view the variety of the interests which have to be reconciled. We are met, not to prove before an impartial tribunal that one view and not the other is true, that one policy should be adopted, one community or one set of interests should be favoured, and the other set aside, overlooked or suppressed. We have to reconcile all points of view and achieve a measure of agreement. It is possible to coax into the parlour those who cannot be driven into the fold. For this purpose the quality which we require in the largest measure is mutual confidence. This quality of confidence is a plant of slow growth. It is not a commodity that can be weighed out in parcels and distributed. Its growth cannot be artificially forced. It grows in the soil of safety and it requires a peaceful atmosphere of security for its nourishment. Until this spirit of mutual confidence and goodwill animates us all, the path of the Indian nation will be a difficult one to tread. I feel so strongly the danger of pressing ahead in disregard of the health of this tender plant, on whose life and growth our safety depends, that I make no apology for my insistence on the danger of precipitancy and the need for caution in our rate of advance.

The Indian States—I speak for the conservative element—wish to safeguard their individual existence. They ask for guarantees that the changes in the Government of India, which are foreshadowed, will leave them free to pursue their own ideals in the manner of their heritage and tradition. They ask that their position will not be modified without their own consent, that changes will not be forced on them, and that the treaties into which they entered with the British Power in India will be honoured in the spirit and in the letter.

It may be thought by some that there is a sinister intention underlying the request for guarantees and safeguards—the inter-

tion to make permanent the divisions which exist in India, and so to prevent her from attaining the full stature of a nation. This is not the desire of the States. We have no desire to stand in the way of reforms for British India. We wish only to be assured that the reforms which the Indians of British India desire do not impose on us changes which we do not desire. We wish to preserve the individual and historical identity of the States which our forefathers carved out for themselves and handed down to us. If these interests can be secured, we make no further claims. If these interests can be secured without our participating in the common councils of India, we have no wish to thrust ourselves in simply for the sake of participation. If, as may well be the case, they cannot be secured except by participation, we desire no greater measure of participation than is needed to achieve these ends. Similarly, as to the pace of the advance, if the changes which are decided on for British India necessitate changes in the relations between the Government of India and the States, we desire that such changes may be made step by step; that they shall be restricted at each stage to a minimum and that the effect of each step shall be carefully considered before a fresh step is taken. Many of the changes which are adumbrated are from the conservative point of view in the nature of an experiment. The more fundamental the changes, the greater and more daring will the experiment be. There is a Latin proverb which teaches us that experiments should be made on objects of comparatively little value. The States do not regard themselves as objects of comparatively little value, and they are reluctant to be the subjects of experiment, because the daring nature of an experiment, even its brilliant success, are slight consolation to the object whose existence is sacrificed for it. We wish to know the nature of our destination. We are unwilling to set out for a destination hereafter to be revealed.

There are those who see in visions of the future a picture of an India united in religion, race and creed, pursuing one ideal and standing as one nation without diversity of interests or outlook among its peoples. This hope the future may bring true, but in the world of the present we desire that the interests of the present shall not be completely subordinated to those of the future; and we are not willing to surrender the substance of our position to-day for the shadow of a position which we may one day achieve in a Federated India. We do not desire Federation if this involves the gradual disappearance of all that the States have stood for in the past.

I have one more thing to say. Rights and obligations are complementary. They are the two sides of one medal. This is as true of the nation as of the individual. It is perhaps inevitable that in negotiations such as these the rights should be emphasised by one side or the other, and the obligations glossed over. Let us, I mean everyone here, recognise that every right involves an obligation. If we ask for rights, let us honestly and squarely face the implications of our claims. Let us strive, not in a spirit of bargaining, but in a statesmanlike spirit of compromise and accommoda-

tion, to satisfy each other's anxieties, in the confident hope that, by concessions to the fears or prejudices of the doubting, a rich harvest is to be won; for, by the confidence thus inspired, the ground is prepared for that spirit of mutual trust and goodwill, to create which is the real aim of all concession.

His Majesty The King-Emperor reminded us, in the gracious words with which he opened this Conference, that "ten years is but a brief span in the life of a nation." These are weighty words which I hope will be pondered deeply by all who share in the decisions of our destinies. I have singled them out, not because I would have the Indian nation mark time, even for a moment, when the way is clear to go forward, but because I feel that, however rapid the pace of development which the facts may admit, the distance that we have to travel is more than a day's journey. It requires stages for its completion. If I may vary my metaphor, the structure of a constitution is so massive that it cannot be erected on a fragile foundation, and it is in the laying of the foundations that the greatest foresight, caution and sagacity are imperatively necessary. If by the united labours of the experienced statesmen of our two countries the foundations of a worthy edifice can be well and truly laid, we can the more safely hope that the youth of India may be left to complete the building.

The state of India to-day is such as to bring tears to the eyes of all who love her. It may be that in the inscrutable ways of Providence she is being led through pain and travail to a future of joy and happiness. I pray that this may be so. I am reminded on this occasion of the words of a great British orator, Edmund Burke, when the fate of another nation was in the balance—"I think," he said, "we ought to inaugurate our discussions on this subject with the ancient invocation of the Church, 'Sursum Corda'—'Lift up your hearts'" and I conclude my speech with some memorable words of his—"Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom, and a great Empire and little minds go ill together."

Lord Peel: No one is more sensible than myself of the profound interest and importance of this Conference; and I think no man can contemplate without emotion this assembly here of so many representatives of India, with the Princes and the British Delegations, gathered together in this old Palace of St. James in order to deliberate on these great questions affecting the constitution and the future of India. Indeed, I feel in listening to the speeches of my old colleagues, the Maharaja of Alwar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, as if we were back again, seven or eight years ago, to the time when we were colleagues in an Imperial Conference, and when we battled together and fought together—I believe not unsuccessfully—for the further recognition of the position of Indians in the Dominions and elsewhere.

I think and I know that those gentlemen and others who know me will not imagine that I am lacking in sympathy with the ideals and aspirations that have been expressed here and in India, and in

whatever I say I am impressed solely by the duty of speaking courageously and frankly to the audience here. My hopes and views about India's future do not differ greatly from those who have expressed most passionately their own aspirations.

May I interpolate this, and may I say first of all how extremely interested I am in the last speech we heard, from the Maharaja of Rewa—how well he understood Conservatives and Conservatism. They hold on to what is best in the past, and they look forward to what is best in the future; and, at the same time, with a lack of arrogance, which I hope you will note, we do not claim to have a monopoly of all the virtues.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru made some observations about the interest of Members of Parliament in Indian affairs and about the very small number of men who control matters both here and in India. There seemed to be implied in his observations the suggestion that, while many Members of Parliament knew very little about India, there was not a deep and profound interest among the people of this country in the affairs and in the future of India, and in their connection with India.

Speaking in the presence of Members of Parliament I would not lie to suggest that there are those outside who know more about political affairs than they do; but I do assure you of this—and it would be a great mistake for anybody in this assembly to form a contrary impression—that the pride of Englishmen in the history of their achievements and of their connection with India, and in the future of India, is deep and profound. Do not let any man go away from this assembly with the impression that the interest, the profound and even instructed interest, in Indian affairs is confined to half a dozen men in Parliament or in the Services.

I comment for a moment, if I may, on the observation made by Mr. Jayakar, because I wish to hang a remark upon it. His observation was to the effect that England's main interest in India is commercial. He said "There are 500 or 1,000 families who send their younger sons to India to make a career for themselves." Here again, though I have no doubt he did not intend it, I seemed to note a view somewhat depreciatory of those great Services which have worked for so many years with, in so many cases, a selfless devotion to Indian interests and Indian causes. May I say that I felt a little hurt at that observation. Like others, my own family has sent out many men to India who have devoted themselves to the cause of India, and I think it a pity, when we are gathered here to talk about the relations of these countries, that we should say anything that would depreciate, to however small an extent, what I believe to have been the devoted services rendered by so many of my countrymen in the building up of India. Anyhow, I can assure you of this, that no observation of mine will depreciate the services rendered by Indians to the Empire. I know, and I can speak not merely for a Party in this, but on behalf of my countrymen, that, whatever may be the constitutional issues, they feel most strongly and most deeply the contributions that India has made

to the Empire, and they are full of sympathy with, and full of gratitude for, the great devotion and the great energy with which Indians, Princes and peoples alike, threw themselves into their great contribution to the war. Therefore, when we are approaching what is no doubt a very great subject, let us at least free our minds, if we can, from any idea that there exists, either in my own Party or in the country, any indifference or lack of zeal or lack of sympathy towards the problems which you, gentlemen, are here discussing.

Naturally, we must come down to practical affairs—though I myself have listened with profound interest and sympathy to some of the emotional appeals that have been made to us by the eloquent speakers who have preceded me, because I am not at all one of those who think that these matters can be settled by dry and hard legal or constitutional formulæ. I am very sensible and sensitive indeed to the great part which sentiment and emotion play in the building up of human affairs. But, of course, we have to consider that the result of our deliberations may be embodied in a Bill and that that Bill is to be presented to Parliament for its consideration or for its criticism or adoption, and, that being so, I think it may be my duty to say a word or two as to the attitude or the feeling in many conservative circles towards some of the impressions they have formed, or which have been shaped in their minds by the happenings of recent years, because I want to pay the only compliment that I can pay to this assembly, the compliment of frankness, and I believe that any contributions that we can make should be, not only sincere, but should be true, as far as we can make them, so that we may join together, as it were, in building up on that basis of frankness, sincerity and fact the structure which we do hope to build.

I shall have to say a word or two on that in a moment, but let me make a quotation from the Viceroy's declaration itself. I was very glad to hear the enthusiasm and applause with which our present Viceroy's name was received, and it is therefore with all the more confidence that I want to read out to you, to refresh our memory, shall we say a passage in that address delivered on the 15th January, 1930, to the Members of the Legislative Assembly:—

“ I have never sought to delude Indian opinion into the belief that a definition of purpose, however plainly stated, would of itself, by the enunciation of a phrase, provide a solution for the problems which have to be solved before that purpose is fully realised. The assertion of a goal, however precise its terms, is of necessity a different thing from the goal's attainment. No sensible traveller would feel that the clear definition of his destination was the same thing as the completion of his journey; but it is an assurance of direction.”

I lay special stress upon those words, because I think there has been, certainly in some political circles in India, though not mentioned here, a misinterpretation of them, and they have regarded the statement of the goal as the same thing as the statement of the

immediate purpose. Criticisms of statements as bad faith or breach of faith are often very easy to make, and, even though denied, travel far, and I wish to state here that there is no promise in that statement of the immediate translation into fact of the full measure of Dominion Status, and that it is pointed out there as a goal which may be attained in a swifter way or in a shorter time if things go well with the political development of India, and therefore, while we are united on the goal, we may, as the Maharaja stated, differ as to the pace or rapidity with which we may attain that goal.

Now I have one or two things to say, if you will allow me to say them to you, on the recent events in India which have, to some extent, disturbed and harassed and upset the more conservative bodies or conservative opinion in this country. I have to say so, because, unless we deal frankly with these matters, we cannot really form a conception of the attitude which Parliament may adopt towards subsequent Bills. In many ways conservative feeling has been deeply moved by recent events in India. It has been deeply disturbed by the great non-co-operation movement. Conservatives have never believed that non-co-operation on a large scale could be non-violent. They have never believed that the experiments, already tried in India some years ago with unfortunate results, could be tried again in India with more fortunate results. They are harassed also by an anxiety that, if we agree here upon some constitution, and if the representatives of India go back to work it, there is a party, a very strong party and an organised party, in India which will, as it were, wrest the opportunity from the hands of those who are here, and will merely use those powers that are granted, for furthering their own separatist and independent ends.

We were told that that independence and those declarations of independence by the Congress were due to frustrated ambition, frustrated desire for further self-government. I am not going for a moment into the psychology of those declarations. I will only say that declarations of that sort of independence and separation from the Empire have been made. I regret that they have been made, but they have had some definite influence upon conservative opinion in this country. Further than that, declarations have been made even about repudiation of debts, or in the milder form—but coming to exactly the same thing as far as credit is concerned—of an examination into the debts incurred by India to see that they have been properly incurred. One can easily see, and one knows, that that has had a most unfortunate effect among the commercial and trading classes of this country. It has given a shock to their confidence, possibly made them rather more conservative in their views than they were before.

We have had an observation about monopolies from Mr. Javakar. I do not know quite what he meant by these monopolies. Referring to what would be done if India had self-government, he said, "Let me give them one warning—that they will not enjoy the monopoly they have, in so far as it is enjoyed, on the simple ground that in

their skin there is less pigment than in mine". What are those monopolies? I submit that there is no monopoly—legal, constitutional or of any other kind—except that monopoly which is obtained by skill, by energy and by commercial success. I say advisedly that there is no single commercial operation in India which cannot be undertaken just as well by any Indian as by any Britisher. Therefore I submit, without fear of contradiction or challenge, that there is no such thing as a monopoly such as has been referred to. Then, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru told us that the Moguls were conquerors and that they became domiciled. He seemed to draw some distinction between the position of the British in India and the Moguls in that respect. What I am going to say is this—and our feeling in regard to this point is strong—that, quite apart from any legal constitutional rights founded on Acts of Parliament, our position in India, and our services to India, have given us a strong claim on moral grounds alone to be considered, a claim, which, I think, has not been fully dealt with by any of the speakers who have addressed us. I am not going to allude—because they are so familiar to you—to our achievements on the material side, our work in the destruction or diminution of famine, or the great works of irrigation, or what we have done for law and order and the whole machinery of government. All that long history of education in political theory has been, as I think many Indians will admit, one of the great contributing causes to the growth of that national sentiment to which such eloquent expression has been given in this Conference already. Therefore, when we are talking of the British position in India, let us remember that we have been there now a long time. Do not talk of us, as one or two speakers have done, as aliens. Talk of us as those who have contributed greatly to the constitution and to the growth, moral and material, of India, as those who have won in India a place of consideration—of partnership, if you like to use that word—on account of our previous services.

I want to allude with some—I was going to say hesitation—to the work of the Statutory Commission, because we have been told by one speaker already that it has met with general condemnation in India. I assume that everybody here present has read carefully and pondered both volumes of the Report of the Statutory Commission, and really I am often amazed, when I look at it, that so little regard appears to have been paid by some people to that Report. I am one of those unrepentant persons who, having read it and studied it, consider it to be a great contribution, both in thought and report, to the great Indian problem. It has been treated in some respects as a reactionary document. I contend that in many respects it might be called a very revolutionary document, and I want to make that statement good. Just take the position as regards the Provinces. Take the question of the proposed introduction of full self-government in the Provinces. (*A delegate: Absolutely bogus.*) I will come presently to the question of whether it is bogus. These proposals, I submit, are very wide and far-reaching. What is to be done by these pro-

posals? First of all dyarchy is to be swept entirely away and the Councils in the Provinces are to be furnished with exceedingly wide powers over the great populations in those Provinces. Really they are not Provinces, they are countries. They are countries with 20, or 30 or 40 millions of people. Is it nothing that these laws and whose administrative acts will touch most closely the intimate lives of these millions of people in the different Provinces in education, in local government, in health, in agriculture, and even in regard to the more disagreeable subject of taxation? I submit that a change of that kind proposed in the self-government of the Provinces is more far-reaching than many have given it credit for.

Under these circumstances, is there really anything inherently unreasonable in proposing that, while the Provinces are adjusting themselves to these new conditions, settling down, learning their new powers applying the arts of government to these great populations, that during that time—not a long time perhaps—these should be no substantial change in the Central Government? I know that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said it would be strange if responsible Ministers in the Provinces were to be under the control of an irresponsible Government at the Centre. Many Governors of Provinces will tell you that they are very little under the control of the Government at the Centre, whether responsible or irresponsible, but surely at this time of day it is a little late to talk of irresponsible governments? All Governments, whatever their form, are very well aware of, and are extremely sensitive to the opinions, the thousand and one sympathies and interests and movements of thought, which govern them, as they govern more technically responsible Governments.

Again—I am still dealing with the rather conservative side of opinion in this country—take the question of police. Many must be aware that the transfer of the police is viewed with very great anxiety in many quarters, not only in this country but also by some of the Governments in India. While we have every hope that what was suggested by Sir Muhammad Shafi may come to pass, and that, with agreement, all these old difficulties and communal troubles may disappear, yet we must at the same time be well aware that, even in the last few years, we have seen most unfortunate exhibitions of communal troubles; and that there are some people who think that perhaps that impartiality, which European or British control over the police can give, may be of some advantage. Possibly conservative opinion may to some extent put too high a value on the length of time during which some countries have enjoyed representative institutions, and may think that the habits acquired by those countries can only be attained by the long experience of years. It may be that they think that those habits must be deeply rooted before the full strain of self-government in a vast country like India can be thrown upon them. We have seen recently in other countries, where parliamentary institutions have been too rapidly set up, that they have failed and withered because they

had not the roots on which they might grow. We feel this, not from any desire to delay in India the realisation of her aspirations, but because Parliament does feel, and must feel, a tremendous responsibility towards India.

It is not by any means forgetful of its promises and declarations; but its long association with India has laid great responsibility upon it, and it cannot therefore, by lassitude or easy good nature, telescope too rapidly the process by which self-government is attained. As has been observed to-day already, it may be that parliamentary institutions in India are not a growth but a graft, and I have always been one of those who were not anxious for the too rapid development of a particular form of parliamentary institutions in India, because I felt that India itself might have a strong contribution of its own to bring to constitutional problems and that it was a pity to stereotype too early the particular form which that constitution ought to take.

May I, before I sit down, say a few words on what I think is really the subject we are discussing—whether the future constitution of India should be unitary or federal? On the unitary point I have not much to say. I can hardly conceive myself that, in a country so vast, so diversified and so populous, it is possible to set up or maintain what is called a unitary government. You would have, I am sure, the centre of government so far removed from living contact with the peoples of India that there could be very little sympathy—that sympathy which must be established—between the ruler and the ruled. I, therefore, incline most strongly to that federal idea which builds up units, of great variety if need be, within the whole and which contributes to the whole something of the richness and the variety which they themselves contain. It might be useful to meditate upon the relation that could be established between the Princes and the States of India, and the Provinces. One would be impressed, I think, by the fact that some unity must be established between them, because otherwise one might see the Princes on the one side with their States, and the Provinces on the other side, moving in separate orbits, almost in opposite directions, not towards that unity which seems to be necessitated by the growing forces of civilisation with the practical application of science and industry drawing them together. This idea has been planted, has flourished, and has grown rapidly. With all respect, I should say that in this matter the Report of the Government of India seems to me to be somewhat out of date. It seems to contemplate the setting up of such a scheme as being a remote possibility in the future, but not, I think, in the present.

I feel—as I think has been indicated by some of the speeches delivered during these two days, notably that of The Maharaja of Bikaner, which met with answering sympathy from other speakers—that this idea of some sort of federal union between Princes and Provinces has grown rapidly and has enlisted a large amount of sympathy from great sections of opinion. That seems to be a tremendous gain, because it is very difficult to see how it is possible

to get an organised unity in India except on some federal basis. It certainly would be one of the most remarkable Federations in history. You have had federal government with the grant of powers from the Centre to the units, and on the other hand units seeking to get more power. Here you would have the movement both ways, both from the States and from the Centre to the Provinces.

Of course, many grave questions remain to be considered—the question of what should be the powers of the Central Government, and whether those powers should be equal as regards the Provinces and the States, or whether, as regards the States, the powers of the Central Government should be greater than as regards the Provinces whether on the basis of that, you can construct assemblies and constitutions which would give full play to the different feelings and claims of the Provinces and of the States.

We have listened very carefully to the claims made by the Princes for their States, and everyone will see that great problems arise in the attempt, it may be, to harmonise the interests in this way of Princes and of Provinces. I will not say a word about the “residuary powers”—that is one of those phrases so dear to constitutional lawyers—which may, perhaps, disappear altogether and be found to have been divided equally, or in some proportion, between the States and the Provinces.

I argue, therefore, that though many problems have got to be faced, yet so fruitful is this idea that it would be a misfortune if anyhow some of the foundations for carrying out that idea could not be laid in this Conference; because what one is afraid of is this—that when you set up institutions in a country they tend to gather round them sentiment, feeling, knowledge, sympathy and interest which, once they are started, are hard to bend away from the course on which they were started. Therefore if we really do want, as I believe this great assembly does want, to exhibit its sympathy in practical action, for these great constitutional changes leading in a federal direction, I submit that our minds should work in that direction—that we should attempt not only to do nothing contrary to the federal idea, as the Report of the Statutory Commission suggests, or as the Government of India's Despatch suggests, but we should attempt perhaps to lay some stones immediately on which that great federal idea can be built.

India indeed is amazing in the extent and in the variety of its resources, in the beauty of its scenery, in the contrast of its races and its religions and its peoples. I do not think it is merely a dream to suggest that that variety and that contrast within a unity should be reflected in the great constitution combining Provinces and Princes together in one common whole.

I have made some criticisms. I have had to say something about conservative opinion in this country, about provincial developments and the question of development at the Centre; but I should like to affirm in my last few sentences that at the same time there is no one who feels more strongly than I do, and I believe the

Party also, the vast importance of bringing India, sooner or later, by processes quicker or slower as the case may be, into its equal part in the great community of the British Commonwealth. I am not one of those who can see the British Empire, with its great constituent nations, without India in it. I am certain the loss would be great to that Commonwealth of Nations. I am equally certain—I am confident—that the loss would be great to India as well. We can be of great use and service to each other. I say, speaking here to so many representatives of India, that the contribution which they can bring in thought, in knowledge not merely on the material side but on the spiritual side as well, will enormously enrich the content of what may be in the future the community of British Nations. It is the very variety, which we find in India, from the other Dominions which constitutes the great attraction for the resources of constructive statesmanship.

In this strange world where, as we grow older, we are more impressed perhaps by the fleeting and the transitory aspect of things than by permanence and stability, I trust that this fruitful vision of unity may endure—and may endure so long as human hearts beat to the music of noble causes. All men's imaginations are stirred by high conception to great achievement.

H.H. The Chief of Sangli: Mr. Chairman, I associate myself whole-heartedly with the speakers who have preceded me in their expression of sympathy and devotion to His Majesty the King, of the sympathy of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India with the aspirations of British India, and of hope and faith that, in the solution of the issues which confront us, we shall be animated by the goodwill, patience and wisdom which His Majesty commended; and in doing so I feel sure I am echoing the sentiments of those who no less than others are amongst the Rulers of States.

As regards the main question that we are discussing to-day, namely, whether the future constitution of India should be unitary or federal. Their Highnesses who have spoken before me have already shown that a United and Greater India can only be created with the consent and association of the sovereign States of India with the Government of British India. I need not therefore deal with that point. I would only say that if Federation be agreed upon, those whom I represent would be willing to assist in the achievement of the goal.

At this stage, it might be well to state in broad outline the problem of the smaller States. Their essential features are identical with those of the other States, namely, (1) they are not British territory: their subjects are not British subjects; and they are not governed by the law of British India; and (2) the British Crown is responsible for their external relations and territorial integrity. They all manage their internal affairs and maintain their troops or police forces, except the very small estates and jagirs. For international purposes the territories of these States are in the same

position as those of British India, and their subjects are in the same position as British subjects. These facts establish that their rights, and indeed their interests, are identical with those of the rest of the States. It will thus be plain that the methods of All-India co-operation that may be devised by the Conference would apply to these States. It is true that some of the States—especially those which are included in the group known as “estates, jagirs and others”—are very small, and their cases will require investigation in order to fit them into the scheme that may be ultimately framed in order that they may enjoy all its benefits in common with the rest of the States.

In this connection I may remark that the importance of the smaller States is not to be judged by the size of individual units but by the aggregate figures of their area and population, their widespread territorial distribution and their large number. I would ask this House to remember that, if a little over twenty States be excepted, no one of the remaining States has a population exceeding half a million; and yet they include in their number States which have as ancient a lineage, as proud a history, as large a jurisdiction and as rich potentialities of development as any other. They further share in the general political awakening, the stirrings of new life and new hopes—or, in His Majesty's words, “the quickening and growth in ideals and aspirations”—which characterise the whole country, and they are animated by the common ideal of being placed firmly on the road to the political stature which is their due. The fact that His Majesty The King-Emperor has emphasized the wisdom of paying due regard to the just claims of minorities at once shows his deep interest in them and inspires the hope that the legitimate claims of all States, regardless of size, will receive due recognition, and that at this birth of a new history, the foundations will be well and truly laid, and an enduring union of the States and British India will be brought into being.

Sir Hubert Carr: Mr. Chairman, it is obvious that the section of the British India Delegation to which I belong approaches this question from rather a different standpoint to that of many of the previous speakers. I feel strongly, however, that although we are racially separated we are united in a desire for the welfare and progress of India. It would be absurd for me to suggest that we have the same impelling urge in that desire as those who are born in India, but we do have a very sincere sympathy with that desire, not from any standpoint of superiority, but because we recognise in that genuine desire that which we ourselves would entertain were we sons of India. I think—perhaps we all think—that the keenness of the desire has led to India travelling faster than any of us had expected, and we are inclined to think that she has arrived at the present point a little out of breath. We feel that it is a most happy condition that we are drawn here to-day really to get away from the turmoil which is liable to warp judgment and really to look at the whole problem in the surroundings which have been laid for us here.

We are, of course, very largely actuated by anxiety that the present order should not give way to immature ideas which would lead to a breakdown. Everybody must feel the risks which are facing India, and little excuse is wanted when one looks at the appalling conditions which happened from too rapid changes of government in Asia.

Much has already been said by Lord Peel which represents the views of the British community in India. I will not attempt to follow him, but with regard to the main question of federal or unitary government, we are united in believing that federal government is the line which offers the best chances of successful progress to a united India. We believe in the full application of federal principles, not only in bringing the States and the Provinces together at the Centre, but also in its application to other departments of government—finance, railways, and so on.

When we come to the question of responsibility at the Centre, we are frankly doubtful whether that is possible at the present time. It has been said, that, given responsibility, many of the difficulties with which the present Government has to contend will disappear. I do not think experience warrants us placing great faith in that, nor do I think the remarks that have already been made here really induce us to follow that line of thought. It was said yesterday that that which satisfied India twelve months ago does not satisfy her to-day; that which satisfies her to-day will not satisfy her six-months hence. I rather agree with that, but it does not induce in me faith to say that now is the time to make any great move. I should like to see further consolidation of thought in Indian political opinion as to what is best at the Centre before any strong move is made.

There are several points which lead me to take that view, but I will only touch on them briefly, as I do not want to occupy your time too long. For instance, in the matter of dealing with disturbances and maintaining law and order, I have no doubt that the present Government and system of government is perfectly capable of taking care of the country at present. We do not advocate, any more than the most ardent patriot here, that the methods of force are the methods we wish to see applied; but they are methods which may have to be applied at times, not only by the Government as constituted at present, but by any national Government of the future. It must be admitted that, hitherto, the Legislative Assembly has not proved itself ready to grant the Government such powers as they have often found necessary for coping with the conditions that prevail in the country.

The talk about the repudiation of debt and the examination of national indebtedness has, as has already been pointed out, not helped to inspire confidence in those whose future is wrapped up in India, and we feel very strongly that any Government, that is going to be for the good of India, must retain not only the confidence of its own nationals, but also international confidence.

I have mentioned some of the difficulties and considerations which build up our present attitude. It is not one of lack of sympathy; it is not one of wishing to go back or to stand still; we recognise the impossibility of that. But we do most sincerely hope for the fullest consideration of the schemes that are going to be put forward, before any minds are closed to the possibility that pace of realisation is not the best criterion.

Our community are entirely unrepentant still as to the Statutory Commission and its formation. We believe that Parliament had every right and was wise to find out the conditions in India as visualised by their own members; but, with that feeling, we were intensely strong that no legislation should take place before all schools of Indian thought had had the opportunity of expressing their views. That is why my community, when first the calling of this Conference was announced, immediately welcomed it, as ensuring that use of Indian experience, without which none of us can hope to attain to the aim we seek to achieve in the future.

As regards our own position out there, it is one of friendship and common interests, and we have welcomed the assurances as to the way in which it is intended to treat British interests in India in the future. It makes it easier for us to welcome forward moves in the political field, and we do welcome India's claims to a position in the Empire as a Dominion. There are admittedly grave difficulties which call for time to overcome, but we are proud as members of the British India Delegation to face those difficulties with the certain hope that we are going to overcome them.

Lt.-Col. Gidney: I address this Conference in a dual capacity, as an Indian, speaking for India, and as a member of the Anglo-Indian community, representing my views with regard to the future constitution of India. I should be indulging in a truism were I to say that both the unitary and federal types of government have their good points. In the past India has been ruled, and her present nationalistic spirit developed, under the stimulus of a centralised form of government. To replace this suddenly by a federal government is obviously a leap in the dark, the more so when one finds it connotes the close material co-operation of the Indian States. If we are to judge by the terms published in the Press on which these States would be willing to enter such a federation, their connection with British India would for some time be more in the nature of a sentimental than a practical association. At the same time, we readily appreciate the willingness and desire of the States to join the Federation and, on the assumption that such a Federation would soon materialise into a corporate body, it would be ridiculous for any one of us to refuse such an offer: and therefore, on behalf of the community I have the honour to represent, I raise my voice in favour of a federal form of government and welcome it as best for the future of India.

With your permission, Sir, I should like to go a little further and say a little more on this. In the creation of this federal Gov-

ernment, the consummation of which no one here can foretell, I am afraid that, judging from some of the speeches I have heard, we have in a measure, by seeking for a federal Government first before stabilising our provincial Governments, placed the cart before the horse. My conception of a practical measure would be to give India immediately complete provincial autonomy and, when the Provinces have stabilised themselves, allow them absolute freedom to federate with those States which are willing to enter into association with them, and so form a number of federated units which could eventually combine in an All-India Federation with a strong, responsible and representative Central Government.

I am aware there are some States which will refuse to enter into this pact, and perhaps some special provision will have to be made for their affiliation with a federated India on terms acceptable to them. But whatever the decision of this Conference may be, I am prepared to accept it, as a member of a minority community, for I am wedded to neither one form nor the other of government. All I ask is that ample provision be made for the development of self-governing institutions in India and that we be given ample power to deliver the goods that we are manufacturing at this Round Table Conference: and at the same time I ask for the adequate and statutory protection and safeguarding of minority interests.

By that I do not mean the sort of provision that already exists in the Instrument of Instructions in the 1919 Government of India Act, which no Governor has up to date put into operation; nor do I mean any authoritative directions from the Secretary of State. What I desire to express in clear and unmistakable terms is that all minority communities must be afforded full protection, be it by means of a Magna Charta or in any other way, and given a right of appeal to the Central Government or, if necessary, to some higher authority against any infringement by a Provincial Government of this statutory protection, the Central Government being armed with adequate powers for the purpose.

This protective clause should in the first place prohibit discriminatory legislation against minorities; secondly, it should guarantee their entry into the public services, and thirdly, secure their adequate representation in all legislatures. Such a provision is guaranteed in other Dominions, and particularly in the constitution controlling the New Zealand Government. The stability of a majority government depends on the protection it affords to the minorities. This was in a large measure overlooked when freedom was given to Ireland, with the result that an Ulster was created to the permanent prejudice of a United Ireland. The demand for self-government for India has often been compared to the similar demand made by Ireland. Let us hope that in its attainment no Ulsters will be created in India.

It is true that in numbers we are one of the smaller of the Indian minorities represented here to-day, but our stake in India, our interest in her future destiny, and the part played by us in her

defence, development and past fortunes, and to be played by us in the future, are in no way commensurate with the mere numbers of the Anglo-Indian community. In the first place, we represent in our very bodies that fusion of East and West, India and Britain, which in other Indians and other Britons can exist only as a fusion of interests in politics and economics. If India is our Motherland, Britain is our Fatherland, and whatever may be the case of other communities, our loyalties are to both these great lands; in the connection between them we find our truest welfare, and in the growth of affection and union between them we find our highest happiness and contentment. Indeed we are your joint responsibility and neither party can disclaim its honourable obligation to protect us.

Moreover, small as our community is, it has played a mighty part in the making of British India. Its military services from the old John Company days to the Great War, when we gave 80 per cent. of our manhood at the call of King and Empire, is an unparalleled record. To-day, Sir, we form 27,000 out of an auxiliary force of 34,000, and to-day, with India seething with civil disobedience and revolution, you will find at all important railway stations our men standing behind sandbags with rifle in hand, protecting British and Indian lives and property.

Modern India has been truly described as a creature of communications, and I claim that my community has played the leading part in making and working these communications, which are the framework of the nervous system of modern India. I go further and say that, without my community, these communications would not have been developed as early or as completely as they now are. I appeal confidently to the history of India to prove what I am saying. In all India there will not be found any community more steadfastly loyal, more industrious, more law-abiding, and, in a word, more fully possessed of the virtues of good citizenship than the Anglo-Indian community and in pleading the cause of my people, I beg most earnestly that my kinsmen, Indian and British, will try to appreciate the value to the future India of such a body of citizens as we represent. In the Memorandum to the Simon Commission this community asks for temporary economic protection for 25 to 30 years, after which it is prepared to sink or swim with the rest of India. During this short period it merely asks that the number of posts it occupies to-day in the various services be not reduced, that its educational grants be not lowered, and that it be very liberally assisted with generous scholarships to enable it to educate itself and enter the higher services in larger numbers. Surely these demands are not excessive when one considers the great economic, military and administrative services rendered by this community to India and the British Empire. If this protection is refused, we sink; if it is granted, we swim, and shall, without doubt, play as great a part in the future as we have already done in the past India. Indeed, Sir, I assure you that the decisions now being taken at this Conference are matters of life and death, literally life and death, for us.

Of late years our economic position has steadily deteriorated. Nevertheless, so far as it is in our power, we are endeavouring to make it possible for the more promising of our younger generation to receive the education and the training which will fit them to compete with the members of other Indian communities. But—and this is a point which I would ask all present to consider dispassionately—the deterioration in our economic condition is due very largely to no fault of our own, but to a deliberate policy on the part of Government. The members of other communities are now in a position to undertake many of the duties which have fallen to us in the past, and particularly in that sphere of work which hitherto has provided my community with its main employment—I mean the Railways, Telegraphs and Customs. It was inevitable, of course, that the competition of other Indians for the posts, which we held in these and other services, should become more and more strenuous as education spread, but we are suffering under the dread conviction that, as a small and poor community, we are being sacrificed to the demands of other more powerful communities, and I repeat again, not communities whose attachment to India is any more real or deep than our own.

If our experience of the past few years is to continue, then indeed, I can see no hope for us. And there is another thing I want to say with all the seriousness and emphasis I can command, and it is this: the treatment accorded to the Anglo-Indian community, small as it is, but with a record of consistent and devoted loyalty to India and Britain, will be a touchstone by which the quality of Indian and British statesmanship and equity will be judged in the future. We can be dispossessed of all that we have and truly ruined, and dispersed as a community: that can be done quite easily. But if it is done, it will be done to the everlasting discredit of the two countries to which we belong. I do not want to make a begging appeal to retain as privileges the Government posts and other benefits which we have enjoyed in the past by virtue of service, tradition and fitness; rather I want to ask if it is not possible to give us something in the nature of a “Bill of Rights,” to embody in the fundamental document of the new Indian constitution a declaration with all the authority of India and Great Britain behind it, to the effect that we shall not be expropriated from our employments and the other positions which we have created by our labour and our service merely because we are partly Indian and partly European. In short, I want to ensure that a reformed India will not result in a deformed Anglo-India.

We are not before you as beggars, but as suitors in a just cause; an Indian community devoted to our Motherland but, it must be admitted, under some suspicion because of our unflinching loyalty and devotion in the past to our Fatherland. Our bitter experience has forced us to the conviction that nothing less than that for which I am now asking will be of any use to us, namely, a solemn declaration in the fundamental document of the constitution that we shall be allowed full access to all the work for which we are fitted,

and that we, as a community, shall be given the opportunity of playing our part in the future development of India, military, political and cultural, as well as economic.

Sir, let me end on the note on which I began. My people and I are Indians, but Indians whose roots are deep not only in the soil and traditions of India, but in the soil and history of this country where we are meeting to-day.

We are a synthesis of India and Britain as no other people are or can be, and I would like to remind my Indian kinsmen that it was a man of my own community, the poet and statesman Louis Derozio, who, more than a hundred years ago, long before any of the developments of modern days could possibly have been foreseen, woke from its long sleep the lyre of the Indian Muse with the noble poem, which opens with the stirring and filial declamation:—

“Harp of my land, which mouldering long hath hung,”
and ends with a touching appeal for—

“My fallen country, one kind thought from thee,”
and this is what I ask for, Sir, of the British Delegation and Parliament, and this is what I ask of my Indian kinsmen of all castes and creeds, and of the Indian Prince, whom for over a century we have served loyally, nobly and well, a kind and generous gesture, not, thank God, from my fallen country, but from my country resurgent.

THE GENERAL DISCUSSION—(continued).

Plenary Session, 19th November, 1930.

H.H. The Maharaja of Patiala: Mr. Prime Minister, in rising from my place at this comparatively late stage of the general discussion, I feel I have somewhat of an advantage over the speakers who have preceded me. This is the third day of the general discussion which, I am sure we must all agree, has greatly clarified our ideas. It remains, therefore, only for me to deal with those points which I think might be clearly brought out, in order to summarise what I take to be the general view of the Indian States Delegation.

My brother Princes have already laid stress upon the intimacy of those personal ties with His Majesty's Person and Throne, of which I and every Prince are so proud—ties which bind the Princes of India to the Crown of Britain. These ties remain indissoluble, in the truest sense, links of Empire. But I would point out that they operate in two ways. They constitute on the one hand a link between the Indian States and Great Britain. On the other hand, they constitute a no less important link between the Indian States and British India, since they bind the two halves of India, politically distinct though they may be, into the higher unity which comes of common attachment to a common sovereign. It is my earnest hope, as I am sure it is the hope of all my brother Princes, that the dual operation of these bonds will play its own great part in the birth of that United India for the achievement of which we are all striving.

I make no secret of my own belief that the connection between my own country and the British Commonwealth is one that has been designed by Providence for the benefit of humanity at large. India herself comprises within her borders no less than one-fifth of the human race. If, as I hope and pray, she remains within the British Empire, as a partner equal in dignity with her sister Commonwealths, there will result such a free and voluntary co-operation between East and West as the world has never known. What may such an alliance not achieve for the peaceful progress of mankind at large? The culture of the East, like the culture of the West, has its own characteristic contribution to make. It is for us here to see that our strengths are jointly cast into the same scale—the scale of justice, of progress, of co-operation.

Like all my brother Princes, I have been greatly impressed by the eloquent appeal made to us by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, when he opened this general discussion, that we should recognise we are Indians first and Princes afterwards. May I with all earnestness say how readily we respond to that appeal? We yield to none in our devotion to India, our Motherland. But may I also point out that by remaining Princes we do not cease to be Indians. Our Order is supposed, in certain respects at least, to be conservative. I should myself prefer to say that we are conservators. We

feel indeed that we are the conservators of a great tradition, of an ancient civilisation and of a proud culture.

At a time when the dynamic, machine-made civilisation of the West threatened to overwhelm much of our ancient Indian culture, it was the Indian States which proved themselves the conservators of the traditional arts and crafts. It was within the Indian States that Indian talent, whether in the sphere of arts or politics, for long found their freest, and indeed perhaps for a time, their only scope. It was within the Indian States, to speak of the past alone, that men like Sir Salar Jung, Sir T. Madhav Rao, and Seashadri Iyer, discovered opportunities of self-realisation, of work for the Motherland, that were not available to them in British India. And to-day, is it not the case that the Indian Princes can count among their Ministers and advisers, statesmen of whom the whole of our country may well be proud? I feel strongly that the Indian States have it in their power to make a contribution no less valuable to the Great India of the future, than the contribution of British India herself. Nor is this contribution confined to a historic continuity of culture, a proud sense of citizenship, a solidity of political institutions transcending differences of caste and creed. The Indian States can contribute something else, which until the millennium arrives is no less important to the life of a country than the arts of peace—namely, the capacity for self-defence. It is in the Indian States that there still flourish most prominently such organised military life and tradition as still exist in India, and I suggest that in the future this may be found amongst the most practically valuable of the contributions that the Indian States can make to India, and through India to the Empire.

Mr. Prime Minister, I believe I am speaking for my brother Princes as much as for myself when I say that we all look forward to the birth of a greater India; whether that greater India will take the form of a United States of India, or of a Federal Dominion of India, we may know more clearly before this Conference comes to the conclusion of its work. Our readiness to work for this ideal, and to facilitate its achievement, has already been made manifest; and I am happy to think that both His Majesty's Government in England and my colleagues, the political leaders of British Indian thought, fully appreciate the anxiety of the Indian States that India shall rise to her full stature within the British Commonwealth of Nations. I believe, and I am happy to think that my belief is shared by many, that the readiest and the quickest method of achieving this enhanced status and dignity lies along the road of federation. For federation I am prepared to work, knowing that only through federation can the Indian States join with British India in the formation of the greater India which we all desire.

Here, I think, it is necessary to be clear in our ideas; for it is not only the future of our own States and our own peoples, but the future of India as a whole that is involved. I believe that at every step we should reflect upon the immense issues concerned. What do we Indian Princes mean when we say we are prepared to join

with British India in constituting an All-India Federation? Let me say first what we do not mean. We do not, we cannot, contemplate any severance in the ties which bind India to the Empire. The maintenance of the British connection is the fundamental assumption of our whole position. In the next place, we desire to make it plain that, outside the matters of common concern, we shall preserve our internal autonomy intact, without any interference on the part of British India, whatever the constitution of British India may be, just as the British Indian unit of the Federation will be entitled to manage those affairs, which are exclusively its own, without interference on our part. To put it otherwise, by federation we mean an arrangement entered into by us and by British India jointly under which, while British India manages those affairs that exclusively concern it, and while the Indian States manage those affairs that exclusively concern them, and while the Crown discharges such function in India as are reserved to it, the Crown, British India and the Indian States join together in a system which provides for the joint management and joint control of matters that jointly concern the two sides of India.

The task of devising such a system is not merely difficult and delicate, but involves certain assumptions that I desire to bring out. No Federation has, I am sure, ever come into existence without the right of the federating units being first precisely known. Now, so far as the Indian States are concerned, these rights are in some doubt. Our own view, the view of the Princes, is that our rights are founded upon our treaties and engagements, that our relationship with the Crown is an ascertainable relationship, the terms of which depend upon the element of consent. The Indian States Committee has challenged this view of ours; Are our own legal advisers right—some of the most eminent Counsel in London—or are the members of the Indian States Committee right? How can we federate until we know what rights and what duties we bring to the Federation? When, therefore, we express our willingness, and indeed, our desire to enter a federal arrangement are we not entitled to ask that there should be a prior ascertainment of our rights, not indeed by executive action, but by judicial decision; by the decision of the highest judicial tribunal to which His Majesty's Government and the Indian States may agree to prefer the question? We feel that such ascertainment of our rights runs in no way counter to our desire for the higher unity of India, but will indeed directly facilitate the formation of that federal arrangement through which we believe that unity can best be achieved. Again, it is impossible for federation to come about unless those who are parties to federation are prepared to pay the necessary price. Sacrifices will be necessary. Sacrifices by British India as well as by ourselves. Are we prepared to face the sacrifices? For my own part, I believe that we are. But let us be under no illusion that sacrifice will not be necessary. And while I do not think that there can be any question, for example, of our losing that internal autonomy which each State cherishes. I do

think that we shall find the actual process of working out a federation one which demands great unselfishness, great patience, great patriotism.

Are the Indian Princes afraid then of what the future holds? Speaking for myself, I can answer frankly, that we are not. We are proud of being Indians: we are proud of our Motherland: but we are also proud of the historic position of our States. We are fully conscious of the trend of thought in British India. Indeed, I think that this trend of thought has in many respects served to modify in some degree our own institutions within our States. At the same time, we believe it is not essential that lines of progress within the Indian States and in British India should follow exactly the same course. Each State, with its historic consciousness, should, I feel, seek its own particular form of self-expression consistently with contributing to the higher purposes of the Federation. And may I here say, in all earnestness, that I deprecate even casual references to the possibility that the Indian States may be obliterated by the rising tide of democracy? Mr. Prime Minister, the Indian States have survived many cataclysms; they may survive many more. In my view, it is just their strength and vitality, their sturdy vigour, which has carried them through so many trials, which gives them their greatest value as elements in the future polity of India, and as links in those chains of common loyalty, common affection and common interest, which, I pray, may ever bind together Britain and India in the great British Commonwealth of free nations.

Dr. Moonje: I should like to begin my speech by expressing my heart-felt gratefulness to Lord Peel for the noble and courageous lead that he gave yesterday by saying that we should speak frankly and sincerely. He may be legitimately proud of having brought a contribution of sincerity to the business before this Conference, and for having paid this Conference the compliment of frankness. I can assure him that in my speech he will not be disappointed; he will have the most frank, sincere and honest views of a man who has proved his loyalty to the British Empire, even running the risk of losing his life in doing so, when he was a young man and comparatively unknown, and when he showed his loyalty in the actual fire of the Boer War. It is such a man who now speaks frankly and sincerely and may even appear to be a rebel at the present time.

I should like first to dispose of certain points which Lord Peel made in dealing with the speech of Mr. Jayakar. Lord Peel complained that Mr. Jayakar in his speech did not appreciate the services of the many young British people who go to India and give their devoted service in the prime of their life for the uplift of that country. I do not know whether Mr. Jayakar appreciates those services or not; but in any case I fully appreciate the services which the British people give. I may give an illustration of how I appreciate their services. There is a farmer in a village who keeps a cow.

He gives his devoted attention and his devoted service to that cow, so that every morning he may have an ample supply of fresh milk for his tea. I may also make a comparison with the devoted service which a landlord or malguzar pays to his malguzari village. India is the malguzari village of England, and as such I appreciate that devoted attention is given so that India, the malguzari village, may supply all the needs of England.

Lord Peel also complained that Mr. Jayakar charged the British people with having monopolies in British India, and I was pleased to hear the definition of monopoly which Lord Peel gave. If that definition is correct and if practical effect is given to it, then I, coming from the great Hindu race, have nothing to fear. Efficiency, competence, intelligence and capacity for work, if that be the test for the loaves and fishes of life, if that be the test for a man's worth, I, coming from the great Hindu race, have nothing to fear.

Unfortunately, however, it is not that. Lord Peel says, "I submit that there is no monopoly, legal, constitutional or of any other kind, except that monopoly which is obtained by skill, energy and commercial success." I wish that were the fact. In the history of the British Empire in India I wish it were a fact; for, had that been the case, I would be the last man to complain, for I would have no reason to complain. Efficiency, capacity for work, intelligence, if that be the test, no man from the Hindu race would ever have reason to complain or would ever have complained.

As regards the monopoly, I might bring to the notice of my friend, Lord Peel, something which was written by one of his own people: a life of Sir Bartle Frere, Governor of Bombay, written by Mr. Martineau. He gives a history of how the Indian shipping industry was killed and the present British India Steam Navigation Company brought into being. A Mr. Mackinnon went to India, without means, as an adventurer, and was introduced to the Governor, who was told that he was a very capable young man who would be able to build up a great British shipping industry in India, if the Government would only help him by a subsidy. "That is the man I am looking out for," the Governor said; and a subsidy was given. Every help was given, and the British shipping industry was established, to the prejudice of the then existing shipping industry of the Indians.

I should now like to quote from the reports of the House of Commons. In 1839 a Committee was established by the House of Commons before which a Mr. Melville gave evidence. India passed entirely into the hands of the British after the war which ended in 1818, when the Mahrattas were finally defeated. Some twenty years later, in 1839, Mr. Melville said before that Committee "If British India were a foreign country, a ship built there and navigated wholly by natives might bring a cargo of produce to this country and take back a cargo of British produce; whilst, being a British possession, a ship so owned and navigated is denied

that power. The natives of India are excluded from advantages to which natives of all other countries are admitted; they are not only deprived of the advantages secured to British shipping and seamen, but even of the advantages possessed by some of the foreign nations."

Mr. Wilson, who is known as a great British historian, an honest man, and a sincere man, and one who follows Lord Peel's advice of speaking frankly and sincerely, describes how the Indian cotton industry was killed. He says "British goods were forced on India without paying any duty, and the foreign manufacturer employed the method of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have competed on equal terms." He further says that "Had not this been the case and had there not been such prohibitive duties, the mills of Paisley and Manchester would have been stopped at the outset and could scarcely again have been set in motion even by the power of steam." That was the position of the cotton industry in India and that was how it was killed.

Now that it has been killed Lord Peel comes and says there is no monopoly, legal or constitutional, or of any other kind, except a monopoly of efficiency. I wish it were so. May I say a word about a monopoly in a sphere which is dear to my heart—the monopoly which is enjoyed by Britishers as regards commissions in the Army? Up to ten years ago not one Indian belonging to the fighting races, belonging to the races that established and subverted Empires, and are looking forward to the time when again they will establish Empires, was admitted to the commissions in the Indian Army. The sons of such races were absolutely excluded from Commissions in the Army. Is not that a monopoly? Was the Civil Service not a monopoly? Was the Indian Medical Service not a monopoly? Was it based entirely on efficiency and capacity for work? I wish Lord Peel would reconsider his statement and, as he has given us a lead in frankness and sincerity, would reconsider the position and give us a further lead in sincerity and frankness.

Lord Peel reminds us, and sincerely reminds us, and very gravely reminds us, that Lord Irwin, for whom we gave very lusty cheers when his name was mentioned here, has never promised immediate translation into fact of the full measure of Dominion Status. I know it. I do not require to be reminded of it. I have not yet known any British statesman say, "I shall take time by the forelock and be an exception this time to the rule of the British being always five minutes too late and doing a thing when all grace is out of it." I expected that the British people would rise to the occasion and say, when we come here to-day to give a frank expression of our opinion, "If you prove your capacity, if you prove worthy, immediate Dominion Status will be given you." In capacity, in efficiency it cannot be said that the representatives of the Hindus have been found wanting. (A Delegate of India.) Yes. Hindus of Hindustan, which is called

India in English. Hindus therefore means Indians to whatever religions they may belong—Hindus, Muslims, Christians, etc. I am glad the Delegate reminded me of that. I am not an Englishman and therefore I am accustomed to speak of Indians as Hindus of Hindustan.

Now what is the present situation in India? Lord Irwin may say that he is not going to give immediate Dominion Status, and the British people may say that they are not going to give immediate Dominion Status. We are not here to know whether the British Government is going to give us Dominion Status or not. We have come here as a mark of our consideration for the long-standing friendship, the long-standing association between India and England, to tell the British people frankly and sincerely—taking the lead of Lord Peel—what India thinks and what is the situation there at present, so that you may exercise your independent brain and your independent thought and make up your minds how to proceed in the present situation. The situation in India I shall briefly describe. There are Indians in the Civil Service, there are Indians in the Medical Service, there are Indians in the Military Service, and their wives and their sons and their brothers and their nearest relatives are taking part actively in the national movement of Civil Disobedience, and are going to gaol and are suffering all kinds of indignities and oppression. Young boys, young kids, young girls, young women, old women, old men—all are coming forward to express their heart-felt feeling that the time has come to assert India's position and dignity, and that India can never be satisfied with anything less than Dominion Status or full responsible government. I will come soon to what I mean by Dominion Status or responsible government. They are suffering all kinds of indignities and oppression. I was myself twice convicted and was one of the guests in His Majesty's gaol in the struggle for freedom, in my desire to make India as free as any Dominion in the Empire. If further sacrifice is needed this man will not be found wanting when the time comes, as he was not found wanting during the Boer War and during the last World War. If I could offer the sacrifice of my life for the Empire during times of real emergency, I should be a thousand times more ready to offer my life for sacrifice for the freedom of my country.

British people think, and perhaps British officers in India think, that they can put down the movement, that they can demoralise the people. They think that by a display of force they will cause all this trouble to disappear. The time has passed—I am speaking frankly and sincerely—and that time will never come again, when any show of physical force is going to cow down the Indian people. I have seen with my own eyes officers with police and military, faced by thousands of people, children, boys, women, men, who said: "All right, you do your worst; we are prepared to be shot down." While being shot down they may run away for the time being, but, when the shooting stops, they come again to do the

same thing over again. In the organ called "Young India," Miss Slade, one of the daughters of the British people, a daughter of Admiral Slade, who took part in the last war, writes as to the ways of British oppression; how the British people are aspiring to kill the movement and how they do not succeed. I shall only quote, without adding any remarks of my own: "Lathi blows on head, chest, stomach and joints . . . stripping of men naked before beating . . . dragging of wounded men into thorn hedges or into salt water; riding of horses over men as they lie or sit on the ground; thrusting of pins and thorns into men's bodies, sometimes even when they are unconscious; beating of men after they had become unconscious, and other vile things too many to relate, besides foul language and blasphemy, calculated to hurt as much as possible the most sacred feelings of the Satyagrahis. The whole affair is one of the most devilish, cold-blooded and unjustifiable in the history of nations." So says Miss Slade, the disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, the modern avatar, i.e., incarnation, of love, non-violence and truth. That disciple, an English lady, says these things. She has seen these things with her own eyes, and frankly, taking the lead of Lord Peel, frankly and sincerely and honestly says what she has seen.

This is what is going on in India at the present moment, and this has been going on for more than six months and yet the movement has gone on. As I have said before, when shooting does take place people may run away for the time being but as soon as the shooting stops people again throng and do the same thing. (*A Delegate*: They should not run away). I should have thought they should not run away, but let us imagine the difficulties of the progeny of the races which fought wars, which waged wars, defeated enemies, having been disarmed and made helpless. For the last 80 years or so—three generations of disarmament! The Moguls came, conquered India, defeated us, established their Empire; but it did not enter their brains to maintain their Empire by disarming the whole nation. It is this thing that has gone right into the bottom of our hearts. I could quite understand it if anybody says, "If you have a rifle, and if your opponent has a rifle, and then you run away, then you can call him a coward." But cowards they are not, because these people, seeing that their own people are being shot down, return to the same place to do the same thing, simply because they have not rifles of their own. That is the crux of the situation. The pith of what I am saying is that, if the British officials in India think that this movement can be cowed down or submerged by any kind of repression, they are mistaken. It is impossible that that movement could be crushed. We have gone through it. My grandfather has passed through all these troubles before. We know in our history what a repression we have gone through before, much more serious than the present repression. We have gone through that, and we, Mah-rattas and Sikhs standing together have withstood the most unimaginable atrocities that human nature could think of; and yet

we went on and eventually succeeded in establishing Swaraj in India.

The sum and total of what I say is this. This is the parting of the ways for the British people and ourselves. We have been in association, according to my calculation, for a little more than a hundred years, according to somebody else's calculation about a hundred and fifty years. It is the consideration for this association that has prompted me to come to this Round Table Conference against the desires of all my people, in spite of the condemnation of friends with whom I have worked for the last twenty-five or thirty years, and ignoring the assertion by friends and co-workers in private and in public that he is a traitor who goes to the Round Table Conference. They say, "We believed that he was a sound soldier of his Motherland, but when the time for the real examination came, he was found out, and now we know he is a traitor who goes to the Round Table Conference."

I am risking all. I am risking everything that is dear to a man's heart in this life, and all for one thing: for the some little affection there is for the association that has been established for the last 125 years. It was that little affection that made me take risks in my youth, according to the promptings of youth in those days, when I joined General Buller's Command in the Boer War and offered my services for the last World War. According to the promptings of a more sober and a more advanced age I am taking the risk of losing everything that a man holds dear in his life. If I had looked at things from a personal point of view, what a simple thing it would have been for me to be hailed as a great patriot. I had only to say "Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai: down with the Round Table Conference," and people would have said, "There is no greater patriot than Dr. Moonje at this time in India." But I have risked all that and I have come here, and I am so glad that Lord Peel has anticipated the promptings of my heart to speak here sincerely and honestly and frankly.

Now that I have said all these things, what is it that India wants, and what is it that you are asked to do? India wants Dominion Status. India has an ambition of her own. India had, according to her own ambitions, established her own Empires, and, of course, those alone who can establish Empires lose Empires. It is not a very extraordinary thing to lose an Empire, because only those can lose Empires who have got the capacity to establish them. The last straw is being put on the camel's back. Let us see if the British people have the wisdom to avoid putting the last straw on the camel's back before the camel's back breaks. What is it that India wants, and what is it that we are asking you to do? We want Dominion Status. I am not using the words from a constitutional point of view. When we meet in the sub-Committees, then we can talk about it scientifically and constitutionally and historically, but here I am speaking from a layman's point of view. What is it that India wants? India wants to be a Dominion

within the British Empire, so that India may also be in a position to own the Empire as its own. If I possess a house, I feel a kind of love for that house. I wish, and India desires, that, in consideration for our long-standing association, India should be allowed to feel that the Empire is also its own. It is in this sense that I am using the term Dominion Status. I know that we are different from you as regards race and religion and colour, though ultimately you and we are one; we belong to the Aryan race. At the present moment we are black people and you are white people, so perhaps you may think that you and we are quite different, and you may also think, being different people, "Is it wise to give Dominion Status to them, so that they might afterwards stand up against us and sit on our chest again to-morrow, and might do something which will not be very pleasing to us?" You might feel that. You have seen the past history of India. If that had been the intention of the Indian people, the history of our connection with the British nation would have been quite different.

There are people here who know that three days after the Great War was declared I volunteered my services; but, being over age, unfortunately I could not be accepted. Then I volunteered that from my little Province I would raise 50,000 soldiers for the war, provided that the racial bar to Indians for King's Commissions in the Army and the racial monopoly in the Army was removed. If the mind of India had been different you would not have received that offer; but we said, "This is a time of emergency and difficulty for the British people; and it is not our comprehension of our duty and of our conscience that we should create troubles for the British people at such a time; they are also human beings like us. After seeing them through their difficulties, the God in them will be roused enough to make them see that our people, though black in colour, are the same as their own."

I have not come here as a beggar. It will be a good thing if you, of your own accord, would say, "We offer you Dominion Status." If fear or suspicion may not lead you to make that friendly gesture, then I say we will not be satisfied with anything less than full responsible government, *i.e.*, Dominion Status. I want to be as free in my country as an Englishman in England, as a Canadian in Canada, as a New Zealander in New Zealand, and as an Australian in Australia. Nothing less than that is going to satisfy me. That is one thing.

The second thing which I shall never tolerate is the cant that Indian people cannot defend their own country, and, therefore, the British people must undertake the responsibility of defending India.

We shall be satisfied only with full responsible government. You must look at it from the psychological and physiological point of view. There are things which are known as foreign bodies. When a foreign body enters into the body politic, if the body politic reacts in a certain way, that foreign body may remain in the politic

body isolated and independent of it; but if the body politic does not react favourably, then the foreign body acts as a poison and poisons the whole body politic. Either absorb us into yourselves so that we can say that the Empire is our own along with you, or say, "You are a foreign people, but we shall allow you to isolate yourselves as an independent being." If something on those lines is not done it is not very difficult to prophesy that that foreign body will be a source of immense trouble, will poison the whole body politic, until either it is cast out or the body politic itself is destroyed.

It is to tell you this that I have come here and spoken freely, frankly and sincerely, and I am grateful to Lord Peel for having given me the lead. This is the frank expression of a man who has been known up to now as a patriot in his own country. Now he is called a traitor to his own country for having come here. I would commend to the British Delegations the amount of responsibility that lies on their head. It is a question whether India shall be complementary to England or opposite to England. In the latter case there may be constant warfare, constant trouble and constant repression so that there will be peace on neither side in India.

Sardar Ujjal Singh: Mr. Chairman, we are assembled here to find a solution of one of the most difficult and complex problems which any assembly was ever faced with. We were reminded yesterday by Lord Peel that we should proceed with caution. I fully agree with the noble Lord that we should take all factors into careful consideration, but we must face and surmount difficulties and not succumb to them. I need not repeat what many of my friends have already said about the grave situation in India. I will only say that rapid progress may lead to some trouble, but hesitation and half-hearted measures are bound to lead to great disaster. We cannot forget that India at this moment is impatient and restless to breathe the air of freedom. This impatience has led the leaders of the greatest and most powerful political party in the country to adopt means which we all, I believe, sadly deplore. But we Indians deplore no less the measures adopted by the Government resulting in breaking of heads and the sending to prison of India's gems, who, in a free country, would have commanded the respect of the proudest nations. Both these methods are a counsel of despair. This unfortunate, sad state of affairs in India calls for the rarest courage, wisdom and statesmanship of the highest order. In the success of this historic Conference lies the good, not only of India or of England, but of the whole world; for one-fifth of the human race in ferment cannot but produce uncertainty and restlessness in the whole.

Although the problem is difficult and its solution imperative, there is no ground for pessimism. On the other hand there is a clear indication of a determination on the part of every section of this historic assembly to find a ready solution for it. By inaugurating the opening ceremony of this Conference His Majesty the King-

Emperor has given practical proof of his anxiety to see the success of our deliberations. We should express our gratitude to His Majesty not by words but by the results which he expects us to achieve. The fact that you, Sir, with your multifarious duties and momentous responsibilities, have been able to find time to preside over our deliberations is another proof of the determination of the British people to find a solution to this problem. We Indian Delegates have already staked our reputation in the eyes of our fellow countrymen. We cannot—we dare not—go back to India without carrying with us the solution which will satisfy the aspirations of our people.

The Indian Princes in their magnificent speeches have made it abundantly clear that they are not only anxious to adjust their relations with British India, but that they are equally desirous to see India occupying her rightful position in the proud nations of the world. When the best brains of England and the versatile brains of India are bent upon the solution of the problem there is no difficulty which may not be overcome.

What is the nature of our problem? We have been asked here to give an expression of a limited character on the question of federal or unitary government. Before expressing my opinion on this specific proposition, on behalf of the Sikh community which I have the honour to represent here, I make bold to say that, from the point of view of British India, our immediate business is to obtain the substance of independence, a status of equality in the British Empire, and a full measure of responsible government in autonomous Provinces under a responsible Central Government. If that had not been the main issue perhaps this Conference would not have seen the light of day. The immediate realisation of this desire is no doubt full of difficulties, and if there were no difficulties, we would not have been here putting our heads together and coming to close grips with the problem. Lord Peel said yesterday that the Simon Commission Report, so far as the Provinces were concerned, was a revolutionary document in so far as in the Provinces Dyarchy was done away with and a unitary responsible Government established instead. I admit that the word "Dyarchy" has been taken away from the constitution, but Dyarchy in substance is replaced in the shape of an official member of the Cabinet. I do not desire to enter into any discussion at this stage of the various proposals, but, with all earnestness I submit that no amount of autonomy in the Provinces is going to satisfy Indian public opinion unless responsibility is established in the Central Government. Representing, as I do, the important Sikh minority, I cannot shut my eyes to what realisation of full responsible government would mean to a minority. If we were all to forget that we were members of different communities, and were prepared to sacrifice our communal interests at the altar of nationhood or nationalism, I for one would not have asked for any consideration for my community; but unfortunately communal interests are still dear to us and require adjustment in a spirit of give and take.

The Sikhs—who were, I need not remind you, the masters of the Punjab not many years ago, and who, since the British advent have maintained their military prestige in the various theatres of war in Asia, Africa and Europe, and who during the Great War supplied no less than 89,000 combatant recruits, besides 30,000 already in service, and who still constitute the most gallant element of the Indian Army—the Sikhs cannot remain indifferent to their interests. I beg of you not to ignore the just claims of a community which is to be the backbone of India as a Dominion. I need only remind you of the words of Edward Thomson, who has written a book on the reconstruction of India. He says that, if the Sikhs remain loyal to a federated India, the North-Western border is safe against Afghanistan, and if India remains a Dominion her shores are secured by the British Navy.

I am anxious, therefore, to be assured of a rightful position for my community. In fact, the test of a constitution is the measure of security it provides for the minorities. But I am not without hope that, along with other difficulties, we shall be able to solve this problem in a friendly spirit, with a common desire to see India occupying a proud position among the countries of the world.

The problems of defence and the maintenance of law and order were mentioned yesterday as the big problems which presented peculiar difficulties. I am of opinion that with the solution of the minorities problem and with the introduction of a system of responsible government, which might satisfy general public opinion in India, the question of law and order becomes very easy. Indians in general are more peace-loving than Westerners, and if their legitimate demands are acceded to, the chances of disorder and outbreaks are considerably reduced.

I admit that the defence problem is more difficult, but it is made more difficult partly from the peculiar nature of India's frontier, and partly by the exclusion, until recently, of Indians from higher ranks and positions of responsibility in the Indian Army. I hold the view that India cannot be a full-fledged Dominion until she is able to assume control of the Army, but that does not imply that she cannot have Dominion Status and responsibility in other spheres of governmental activity without delay. The question of defence—and along with it relations with foreign countries—can for a period of time be entrusted to the Viceroy, assisted by an advisory board of Indians; but to seek to remove the control of the Army from the Indian Legislature and to vest it in a foreign body for all time to come is to postpone the attainment of full Dominion Status by India until Doomsday.

What is immediately needed is to accelerate the peace of Indianisation in the higher ranks of the Army. It is inconceivable that the right material will not be available, or that any peculiar difficulties will present themselves in providing non-British commands. In spite of general disarmament and physical degeneration, for which the Arms Act in India is mostly responsi-

ble, the martial races in the Punjab, like the Sikhs and Muslims and the Mahrattas in the South, can still supply a valuable element for the higher ranks. During the Great War the Viceroy's commissioned officers gave proof of their capacity for leadership, and there is no reason to think that when Indians are given the opportunity of holding positions in the higher command, they will be found lacking in that quality.

There is another question with regard to the Army which I desire to bring to the notice of this assembly. It is not quite clear to me why such a large garrison of 60,000 British troops is maintained at such a heavy cost apparently for the preservation of internal peace and order. One British soldier costs four times as much as an Indian soldier.

Sir Phiroze Sethna: Five times as much.

Sardar Ujjal Singh: A British soldier costs four to five times as much as an Indian soldier, and it is difficult to see why so large a garrison should be maintained for the apparent reason of internal peace and order. The Indian Police in times of disorder and outbreaks have been discharging their responsibilities and duties honestly, and there is no reason why Indian soldiers, who are more disciplined, should not be able to discharge their duties honestly and conscientiously. The Army question, instead of offering any insurmountable difficulties, becomes easy of solution if the dead weight of expenditure on British troops is removed and the Indianisation of the higher ranks in the Army earnestly pushed through.

The problem of the Indian States has presented great difficulty, but is fortunately now nearer solution. With the acceptance of the idea of a greater India, united in diversity, and with the willingness of the Princes to join that Federation as free contracting parties, that problem is nearer solution. While the idea of a Federation, in which British India with self-governing Provinces on the one hand, and the Indian States on the other, will fit themselves into a whole for the realisation of common ideals, is an attractive one, it is still a conception which cannot immediately mature. At the outside we can so frame our constitution as to leave the door open to the Indian States to come in, but in coming to a decision on the exact type of federation we must not forget that India is now rapidly advancing towards nationhood. Nothing should be done which might stifle that process of unification and nationhood; we must guard against any disintegrating tendencies on the part of various units.

Nothing should be done, in particular, to weaken the authority or the prestige of the Central Government, and for this reason I am strongly of opinion that, after distributing as large powers as possible to the Provinces to develop on their own lines, a reserve of power must remain with the Central Government. We must remember that in deciding to have a federal type of government

we are reversing the natural process so far as the Provinces are concerned. The federation of once independent States has usually been an intermediary process towards unification, but here we are trying to create separatist tendencies. History should be our guide, and we should evolve a type of system which may not be strictly federal or strictly unitary, but which is suited to our peculiar conditions and traditions.

The eyes of the world are turned towards this Conference. The fate of one-fifth of the human race hangs on the deliberations round this historic Table. The pledges of British statesmen are on their trials. The patriotism and good sense of various communities are to be tested. I only hope and pray that we may all rise equal to this great occasion, and that the fruits of our labours may lead to a happier and more contented India and to a greater England.

Sir A. P. Patro: After such a surfeit of words, phrases and sentiments, for me to contribute more would only be wearisome, and I am sure I would be trying the patience of this assembly if I were to make a long speech. My object this morning is to place before you certain business propositions derived from experience and knowledge of the working of institutions which were inaugurated under the Montford scheme, in their relation between the Provinces and the Central Government and what should be done with a view to smoothing the path for progress and creating facilities for effective working of responsibility at the Centre and in the Provinces.

I have listened very carefully to the very instructive and interesting address of the representative of the great conservative group, the Rt. Hon. Lord Peel. I appreciate his great sincerity and frankness, and that he is speaking true to the political creed of the great Party. We in Southern India are also styled as a conservative party, and a reactionary party, by a certain section of the extreme nationalists. As a conservative party we hold fast to the traditions of the past, and as a nationalist party we want political progress with all other progressive political parties of India.

It will be interesting to you, therefore, to know what the Legislature and the Party, which I have honour to represent and to lead, has to say on the nature of the practical working of the constitution, the defects and the difficulties of the system of Dyarchy. It would be mere waste of time, however, for me at this stage to go *seriatim* into all the defects and difficulties of the present situation. I will only picture to you briefly the conditions and circumstances of working of the administration. The Party consists not only of intelligentsia of the country, but also representatives of the countryside, agriculturists, traders, and small landholders—all classes who had a stake in the country. The Legislative Council of Madras, which co-operated whole-heartedly with the Indian Statutory Commission, has, in communicating the Report of the Committee, resolved emphatically that any grant of political autonomy in the Provinces will be a mere shell without substance, unless responsi-

bility is introduced in the Central Government. The Justice Party, at a great meeting held later, had also unanimously placed on record its sincere desire that the next step in advance should be responsibility at the Centre, and that India should be placed in a position not inferior to that of the States which comprise the British Commonwealth of Nations. I may also refer to the view expressed by this great movement in Southern India, Bombay and the Central Provinces, the non-Brahmin movement. It is the sincere wish of the non-Brahmin Party, guided and controlled by experience and knowledge of the working of the institutions of the country, to have responsibility at the Centre. At a meeting of the All-India non-Brahmin Party, held in Bombay and Poona and presided over by myself, it has resolved that it shall stand for full responsibility at the Centre, subject to such safeguards as are necessary and essential for a temporary period, and that India shall be an equal partner in the British Empire.

The system of Dyarchy was worked with varying degrees of success in different Provinces. If in any Province it has not worked successfully, it is not because of want of political capacity in Indians, but because they refused to work a system or an organisation which did not fulfil their expectations and which was so full of defects that they would not work it whole-heartedly. That being so, I would submit to this Conference that the success of the dyarchic experiment in India has not been a failure, as it has been represented to be. We have worked successfully in Madras, we have gained great experience and training. So with others. What then is the next step to be taken, when we have proved that the dyarchic system has been a success, though it has been universally condemned by sections of people who did not dare to undertake the responsibility, who did not put their shoulders to the wheel and carry on the difficult system of administration? Those who did not have the experience of working the system are loudest in condemning the system which they did not know. I am not one of those who think that it deserved such universal condemnation. Like every other institution, its defects are many, its difficulties are varied; but it could be worked successfully, as we have proved in the Madras Presidency. I would ask this Conference to bear with me while I point out how far this system has been successful in improving the condition of the masses generally and in helping the minorities. One of the great problems which this Conference will have to consider is whether the past can be taken as a sure guide for the future. We must test our facts and conclusions. The Legislative Councils all over the country addressed themselves expressly to what are known as "nation building departments." Departments were set up which served to improve the condition of the people of the rural areas. Depressed classes were helped and steps were taken so that provision was made for their redemption from ignorance and cruel injustice. The problem of the minorities was not neglected. Every time when questions relating to the rights and liberties of

the minorities came up, the Legislature was fair and did not allow any injustice to be done to them. Suggestions of discriminatory legislation, by means of interpolations or resolutions, the House always discouraged. It was the same in the matter of finance; when the revenues of the Presidency were sought to be curtailed, the Legislature vetoed it. I refer to the matter of excise revenue where attempts were made to deal with the problem of temperance. When the question was brought forward, the Councils stood firmly for the policy of temperance, and did not yield to a curtailment of the revenues of the country. While every Council sympathised with the advance of temperance movements, they felt that it must come gradually and also from within. I put forward this illustration because it is common among certain sections of the Nationalists to say that there should be total prohibition. Any amount of talk goes on and it has been suggested that even compulsion should be used. Nevertheless, this testimony shows that the practical wisdom and the common sense of the Legislatures induced them to stand firm and reasonable in the matter. They would not be moved by sentiment and emotion. Therefore I say, though it is an inconvenient illustration, that in any matter relating to the reduction of revenue the Legislative Councils proved their common sense.

Again, in the matter of the relations between the Central Government and the Provinces under the dyarchic system many difficulties were experienced. But we overcame the obstacles in the way and affairs were managed efficiently and satisfactorily as was proved by the testimony of British statesmen and the Report of the Statutory Commission. I would ask you to note facts relating to the maintenance of internal peace and order during the last ten years. In every Province where there were disorders how did the Legislatures deal with the matter? Money and measures were taken by the Governor in Council to maintain peace and order and the Legislatures co-operated with them. Responsible Ministers acted in union in the matter of maintaining law and order with irresponsible Ministers. Both in law and order, in the matter of discriminatory legislation, in paying attention to the rights and liberties of minorities, the Legislatures have proved themselves equal to the task. They have gained experience and training; they have gained knowledge. What is the next step in the constitutional development so that their experience may be utilised in the future?

Remember that, whatever may be the changes decided, whatever may be the constitution framed for the future, the agricultural classes expect that the aim and end of every constitutional change shall be to improve the lot in life of the cultivator, the agriculturist and the masses. If you do not keep in view this aim and if you only provide for the intelligentsia of the country, you will be sorry for having had anything to do with the constitutional problem in India. We have large masses of people to deal with, not the few educated classes. Therefore your reconstruction of the constitution

must be consistent with, and in co-operation with, a spirit of helpfulness to the great people of India.

Now I wish to say a word in reference to what the noble lord, Lord Peel, said with reference to the people of India. It is not correct to say that the political shibboleth or the demands for independence or for the repudiation of debt are the desire of India. That is confined to a certain section of the people. You must visualise India as a continent. Are there not such extreme political parties in England to-day who make the most extreme demands? Are there not political parties in the Dominions who take up extreme positions which you and I would not assent to? You may call it Bolshevism or Socialism or anything you like. There are extreme sections of people all over the world. Therefore these matters should not be taken as anything that should operate to deter the progress of India towards full self-government. You should utilise these forces more profitably and harness them for the good of the people. They are symptoms of the great forces existing in the country, and it will be high statesmanship, it will be true statesmanship, to control these forces and conciliate them and bring about constitutional changes which will keep them within the limits of constitutional methods. It is not too late to do that. As envisaged in the Despatch of the Government of India, you cannot take for granted the passive consent of the people for any legislation or any measure you adopt. It has been visualised in the Despatch of the Government of India that the times are changed and that you must have the willing consent of the people for any measure which Government wish to adopt. Therefore in such a case is it not desirable that you should enlist the sympathy and support of all sections of people who are now co-operating with the administration and will stand by the British Government?

I would like to remind you that the position in the countryside is not as it was ten years ago. I will not take up time by describing fully that position. I have travelled over most of the Provinces and visited many villages to test the real feeling. To-day there is a great awakening in the countryside. You could not have imagined ten years ago that there would be such a transformation worked in the villages by the Panchayat system. The organisation has had an educative influence and made the villagers self-reliant. The work of the Local Bodies, wherever they exist, has awakened people to the consciousness of their rights and liberties, and they are working to make those institutions successful and sufficient. In the Taluqs you find Local Boards of various kinds doing an immense work to rouse the people to the sense of responsibility, and to enable them to manage their own affairs. There are Boards and Councils, Education Boards and numerous other institutions which are, day in day out, teaching the people, placing before them their duties and responsibilities, and to-day you will not find many reports which condemn wholesale the valuable work of Local Self-Government that is being carried on in the districts and in the villages.

I have one word more to say. Judging by British standards you may ask what is the percentage of attendance, what is the percentage of voters at the polls, and how are the elections conducted? I do not want to go into details. It is sufficient for me to say that to-day an interest is taken in the election to the Legislative Councils, that you will find that the members of the Councils in most cases look forward to the influence of the ballot box. The ballot box controls the destinies of the British Government here to-day. It is beginning to control affairs in India. So there is this feeling in the country that the people are beginning to manage their own affairs. Why you should refuse to give opportunities for the people to manage their own affairs in the Provinces and at the Centre, they cannot understand. It may be necessary, as my honourable friend, Sir Muhammad Shafi, said, to place temporary restrictions. I accept that there are obstacles, but those are details to be considered later. I do say that you should trust the people who have been able to work well in co-operation with the Government in the past. I do not agree with those who hold that there should be a revolution in the country. I believe, and my party believes, in evolution of constitutional advancement. We say that the introduction of responsible government at the Centre is not a revolution, but is a step in aid of and towards what we ask for—full responsible government later on. It is a step necessary and essential.

Maulana Muhammad Ali: Mr. Chairman, may I exercise the privilege of the invalid and remain seated? My friend, Dr. Moonje, has explained his position as to how he has been called a traitor to his country. I think we are bracketed together here again. As he knows very well, on the day when he and I were to depart from India black flags were to be flown to wish us God-speed, and the wishes of people with whom we had been working all these years were that the boat "Viceroy of India" might prove very unseaworthy. Even when I came to this country one newspaper in England which I have helped to stabilise financially—I am very glad to see it has a million sale to-day—the "Daily Herald," published my photograph and called me a convert—I suppose a convert from patriotism to treachery. There is in Parliament, besides the Conservative peer who spoke yesterday frankly and sincerely, another very conservative gentleman, who was my tutor, my professor at Oxford, Sir Charles Oman, and it is from his history that I quote one short sentence which formed the subject of one of the questions asked us in the Indian Civil Service Examination, for which I appeared and failed: "The Saracen alone it was impossible to convert." I do not claim to have in me Aryan blood like all the white people here and Dr. Moonje. I have the blood in me which my Lord Reading—who sent me to prison—has perhaps running in his veins. I am a Semite, and if he has not been converted from Zionism, I too am not converted from Islam, and my anchor holds. I am the only person belonging to my party who has been selected by His Ex-

cellency the Viceroy, or the Government of His Majesty here, or whoever it is who has appointed these wonderful Delegates. Whose Delegates we are we do not know. I do not pretend to represent anybody: but I will say this much, and I feel certain that when you have heard me—I hope patiently—you will say that I am right in my claim, that at least I am not misrepresenting myself, and I think that should be enough. In politics there is too much misrepresentation even of oneself.

In reply to Lord Peel, I will only quote to him from an English poet as I did when we were going through the lobby. I said, "I hope your Lordship is a Conservative and will remain a Conservative; because the only definition that I read of a Conservative was in Tennyson, who said,

'He is the best Conservative

Who lops the mouldered branch away.' "

I think those ideas which Lord Peel expressed, very sincerely and frankly, really represent the mouldered branch which should be lopped away. This is my only answer to him. As regards the other Conservative, our own Prince from India, as regards His Highness the Maharaja Sahib of Rewa, I am not quite sure about his conservatism. If he takes Burke to be a Conservative, and quotes him at the end of his speech, I would say: "Be a Conservative and stick to it," for, quoting Burke, His Highness said, "Small minds and large empires go ill together." If the British Empire—call it Empire, call it Commonwealth of Nations, whatever you choose to call it I do not care—if the British Empire desires to remain big, the small minds that have been visible and audible only too long must disappear. If you had followed Burke, you would not have lost America, and you would not be talking of parity to-day in building warships. There should be much more talk of charity. And you would not have all those debts to pay. You would not have all that worry. You would not have to go so often to Geneva to the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference. How long that preparation is going to take Heaven only knows. All these things came in because you forgot your greatest politician, your greatest statesman, who was the man who, in the House of Commons, was called the "dinner bell," because when Burke got up to speak, you all left and went to the dining room. You still do that to people who are like Burke, and I therefore say—and I quote him once again—"Men, not measures." I do not care what constitution you prepare for us; but all would be well if you have got one man in England who is a real man—

"Oh, God, for a man with heart, head, hand,
Like some of the simple great ones gone
For ever and ever by.
One still strong man in a blatant land,
Whatever they call him, what care I?—
Aristocrat, autocrat, democrat—one
Who can rule and dare not lie."

I hope my old friend Mr. MacDonald will at least prove the man to rule, and that he would not dare to lie to his own Party, to his own conscience and to his country; and if you people of all parties assist him, as you should, I assure you we will make history. But even more than I trust my old friend Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, I, a republican, make this confession, that I place my trust in the man—I call him a man, because “a man’s a man for a’ that”—who inaugurated this Conference in the Gallery of the House of Lords, whose name is George. Whether you call him His Majesty or whatever you call him, he is a man! He knows India better than any of his Ministers, past or present, and I am looking up to him to do justice to the 320 millions who constitute one-fifth of the whole of humanity, and I am strengthened in that belief by the wonderful patriotism shown by the Princes arrayed over there, the conservative element in India. It must be a revelation to my Lord Peel and to my Lord Reading; it is no revelation to me. I am again a unique person. While I am a British subject—though I was yet being excluded from the Indian Civil Service Examination because they said I was not a “natural born British subject”—provisionally they admitted me, till evidence from my mother came in, and they finally admitted me—I happen also to be the subject of an Indian State, and probably in that respect too I am a unique person in this Conference. I was born in a State; I have served in that State; I have served in another State, Baroda—my master the Gaekwar is here; I ate his salt for seven years—and when I was dying two years ago it was an Indian Prince, His Highness of Alwar, who sent me at his own cost to his own doctor here. When I was supposed to be going to die once more at Simla, it was a Prince, whom I was once about to begin to teach as a private tutor, the Nawab Sahib of Bhopal, who exercised the truest hospitality—which the British are not yet exercising—he turned his guest-house into a hospital for me. The British will be extending their hospitality to me in the letter as well as they are doing in the spirit, if they make me a free patient in every hospital that there is. When I was sent to Simla to the hospital I made a judicious separation between two fiancés, a lady on one side and a military officer on the other, who were to be married very shortly. I occupied a room between them! Both were ailing. The lady asked our doctor, when she saw a strange looking Indian coming into the European quarters, “What is this old man ailing from?” The Doctor said, “Ask me rather what the old man is not ailing from.” A man with my dilated heart; with my approaching and recurrent blindness through retinitis; with my once gangrened foot, with neuritis—this huge bulking foot through œdema; with albuminuria; with diabetes, and the whole long list that I could give you if Colonel Gidney would not think I was becoming his rival as a medical man, I say no sane man with all these ailments would have travelled seven miles. And yet I have come seven thousand miles of land and sea because, where Islam and India are concerned, I am mad, and, as the “Daily Herald” puts it, I am a “convert”; from a “rebel” against the Govern-

ment, I have become a "traitor" to my country, and I am now working "with the Government." I say I can work even with the Devil if it is to be, like this work, in the cause of God.

I hope you will forgive this long introduction about my ill-health and ailments and all sorts of things; but the fact is that to-day the one purpose for which I come is this—that I want to go back to my country if I can go back with the substance of freedom in my hand. Otherwise I will not go back to a slave country. I would even prefer to die in a foreign country so long as it is a free country, and if you do not give us freedom in India you will have to give me a grave here.

I begin with the Conservatives by thanking them. When I met Mr. Baldwin at the dinner which the Government hospitality provided for us, when I was really very ill and ought to have been in bed, I was watching for the cherrywood pipe, and, thank God, it came out. So I went up to Mr. Baldwin, and I said, "In two ways you have made history. Although a Conservative belonging to a party of the so-called idle rich, you have at least been human enough to establish this rule, that where only Coronas could be smoked after dinner an honest man could now bring out his shag, put it into a cherrywood pipe, as I used to do at Oxford, and smoke it." But, as I told him, he has done another historic thing also. He has sent out a Conservative Viceroy of the type of Lord Irwin! If any man has saved the British Empire to-day, it is that tall, thin Christian! If Lord Irwin was not there to-day, heaven only knows what would have happened. At least I would not be the "convert" I am supposed to be. We should not have been at this Round Table. It is for the sake of peace, friendship and freedom that we have come here, and I hope we shall go back with all that. If we do not, we go back into the ranks of fighters where we were ten years before. They may now call us traitors to the country. You may then call us rebels or outlaws. We do not care.

I have said something about His Excellency Lord Irwin, but I do not wish to associate all that with his Government. They have woefully mismanaged things. The only good point about their Despatch is that it has provided us with another "historic document." The Simon Commission's Report is not the only document we have to consider. The Despatch is a most disappointing document. The best thing we can do after it is to create our own "historic document" here. The best hearts and the best brains of two big countries are assembled here. Many who ought to have been here are still in gaol in India. Mr. Jayakar, Sir Tej Saprú, and I tried our hands at peace making between the Viceroy and Gandhiji, but we failed. I was the first in the field, but failed. I hope we shall not fail when we go back to our country this time, carrying with us the substance of freedom.

Lord Peel said, "Oh, yes, but when you go back to your country with a constitution such as you want, those people who are not co-operating will wrest it from your hands." Wrest it! When I can fight the British I can fight the Indians too. But give me

something to fight for. Do not let me have to take back from here a charter of slavery, and then expect me to fight my own people. I could not do it, and if I tried to do it, I should fail. But with freedom in our hands I would gladly go back to those in whose name my friend, Mr. Jayakar, spoke. He claimed to speak for Young India. I think he knows that, although I am older than him in years, I am a younger man in heart, in spirit, in temperament and in love of fighting. I was non-co-operating when Mr. Jayakar was still practising in the Law Court. (Mr. Jayakar shook his head.) Anyhow, he was not in gaol with me. My brother and I were the very first to be sent to gaol by Lord Reading. I bear him no grudge for that; but I want the power also, when Lord Reading goes wrong again in India, to send him to gaol.

I have not come to *ask* for Dominion Status. I do not believe in the *attainment* of Dominion Status. The one thing to which I am committed is complete independence. In Madras in 1927 we passed a resolution making that our goal. In 1928, in the Convention of All Parties, the adoption of the Nehru Report Constitution was moved, the very first clause of which was about Dominion Status. Even my old secretary, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the President of the Congress to-day, was kept down by his father. There is a Persian proverb which says, "Be a dog, do not be a younger brother." And when you see my big brother over there, "Seven feet by five," as Colonel Wedgwood called him, you can well believe I believe in this Persian proverb. In the case of Jawaharlal I would say, "Be a cat, do not be the son of your father." For it was his father who, as President of the Congress, throttled poor Jawaharlal at Calcutta in 1928. Well, I got up in his place, when he could not speak for complete independence, and I opposed the clause dealing with Dominion Status. But in 1929 I would not go further like Jawaharlal and make it my creed, because once we make it our creed in the Congress, we cannot admit anybody into the Congress who does not hold that creed. I liked to keep the door open for negotiation. I would not like to slam the door in the face of anybody. His Excellency Lord Irwin, a Conservative Viceroy, was "The man on the spot." And he was sufficiently impressed by what he saw on the spot and came here. When we come to London we hear that everybody is appealing to "the man in the street." Whether "the man in the street" is ever heard or not, I do not know; but Lord Rothermere and Lord Beaverbrook and everybody else always talk about "the man in the street" as the final court of appeal. In India it is always "the man on the spot." Well, "the man on the spot" came here and he talked to the leading "man in the street," who is presiding here. I am sure he preached to the converted. They brought round Mr. Baldwin also; they brought round some Conservatives: they brought round everybody they could, and made the announcement that Dominion Status was meant, when in 1917 they said "Responsible Government." That cleared the fog which had been created in a very memorable meeting of the Indian Legislative Assembly in 1924 by the Officer in charge of the Home Department at the time, who I am glad is present here to-day.

As I said two or three days ago, India has put on fifty-league boots. We are making forced marches which will astonish the world, and we will not go back to India unless a new Dominion is born. If we go back to India without the birth of a new Dominion we shall go back, believe me, to a lost Dominion. We shall go back to an America. Then you will witness, not within the British Commonwealth or the British Empire, but outside it, with the Indian Princes, with Dr. Moonje, with Mr. Jayakar, with myself and my brother, a Free and United States of India. It will be something more than that. As I wrote shortly after leaving Oxford long years ago, in India we shall have something better than an America, because we shall not only have a United States, but we shall have United Faiths.

“Not like to like, but like in difference;
Self-reverent each and reverencing each;
Distinct in individualities,
But like each other, e'en as those who love.”

It is with these passions surging in our hearts that we have come here. It now depends upon our Conservative friends, upon our Radical friends, upon ~~our~~ Labour friends, and still more upon the one man whom I trust more in England than anybody else—His Majesty King George, the grandson of Victoria the Good, whose love for India nobody dare deny. Her whole life was the Magna Charta of India, and in her grandson's time history will be written again like this: “George III lost America. George V won India!”

We are told that there are difficulties. It is said, “Look at the States.” But I come from the States, and I know they present no difficulty whatever. “Then there is the Army.” Well, what about the Army? It is the biggest indictment against Great Britain that the Army is not ours to-day, and if you ever use that excuse of the Army you will condemn yourselves out of your own mouths. Let me tell you frankly and honestly, but in a friendly way, that your greatest sin was the emasculation of India,

I am glad to hear my friend, Dr. Moonje, say “Hear, hear.” I was very sorry to hear him talk about our people being fired upon and therefore running away for a time and then coming back. We have 320,000,000 of people. When they can afford to die in millions from famine and from plagues, surely they can afford to die from British bullets too. That is the lesson which Gandhiji wanted to teach us, and that is the lesson which we must learn now. In 1913 I was in this country when Gandhi was leading his movement in South Africa. Mr. G. K. Chesterton presided over a meeting in the Essex Hall, and he called upon me to speak. Other speakers had spoken of Gandhi's new philosophy. I said, “Please understand one thing about that. Whether it is his philosophy or Tolstoy's, Jesus Christ's or mine, it is the universal human philosophy.” Nobody wins in a battle if there is merely the will to kill. You

must have the will to die even before the will to kill. In India we have not the power to kill, but the moment we develop the will to die, numbers will tell. 320,000,000 of people cannot be killed. There is no mechanization for which you can find money to kill 320,000,000 people. Even if you have got that mechanization, even if you have got the *matériel*, you have not the *morale* (or *immorale*) to dare to kill 320,000,000 people. We must have in us the will to die for the birth of India as a free and united nation. And this we are fast developing. When this has been fully developed what can you do? I do not for a moment imagine that you could find in all England a hundred men so hard-hearted and callous as to fire for long on unarmed and non-violent people ready to die for the freedom of their country. No; I do not think so badly of English soldiers.

The real problem which is upsetting us all the time has been the third problem—the Hindu-Muslim problem; but that is no problem at all. The fact is that the Hindu-Muslim difficulty, like the Army difficulty, is of your own creation. But not altogether. It is the old maxim of "divide and rule." But there is a division of labour here. We divide and you rule. The moment we decide not to divide you will not be able to rule as you are doing to-day. With this determination not to be divided we have come here. Let me assure every British man and woman who thinks of shaping our destinies that the only quarrel between the Hindus and the Muslims to-day is a quarrel that the Muslim is afraid of Hindu domination and the Hindu, I suppose, is afraid of Muslim domination. (*Dr. Moonje: No, the Hindu is never afraid.*) Well, I am very glad to hear that. In my country the she-buffalo attacks only when she is afraid, and whatever the reverence of the Hindu for the cow, I am glad he has never the fear of the she-buffalo. I want to get rid of that fear. The very fact that Hindus and Muslims are quarrelling to-day shows that they will not stand British domination either for one single minute. That is the point to grasp. British domination is doomed over India. Is our friendship doomed also? My brother took service under the Government, and served it for 17 years, but he did one thing for me. He sent me to Oxford. He was always taunting me in the non-co-operation days by saying, "You have a soft corner in your heart for that place called Oxford." I must admit that I had. I spent four years there, and I always carry with me the most pleasant recollections of that time, and I want to keep that feeling. I do have a very soft corner in my heart for my Alma Mater. But I can taunt my brother, too. When he was being tried at Karachi—when the jury let us off, and there was a British jurymen among them, they voted for our release because we were such a sporting lot—my big brother said: "Even if it becomes my duty to kill the first Englishman I come across, if he happens to have blue eyes, my knife will not work, because I shall think of the eyes of Theodore Beck, my late Principal at my old college, Aligarh." There are several Aligarh Old Boys here, and they can bear witness to the fact that we who were brought up at Aligarh by Beck could never be without a soft corner in our hearts for Englishmen. Therefore, even if British domination is

doomed—and it must be killed here—do not let us kill British friendship. We have a soft corner in our hearts for Great Britain. Let us retain it, I beseech you.

One word as to the Mussalman position, with which I shall deal at length on some other occasion. Many people in England ask us why this question of Hindu and Mussalman comes into politics, and what it has to do with these things.. I reply, "It is a wrong conception of religion that you have, if you exclude politics from it. It is not dogma; it is not ritual; religion, to my mind, means the interpretation of life." I have a culture, a polity, an outlook on life—a complete synthesis which is Islam. Where God commands I am a Mussalman first, a Mussalman second, and a Mussalman last, and nothing but a Mussalman. If you ask me to enter into your Empire or into your Nation by leaving that synthesis, that polity, that culture, that ethics, I will not do it. My first duty is to my Maker, not to H.M. The King, nor to my companion Dr. Moonje; my first duty is to my Maker, and that is the case with Dr. Moonje also. He must be a Hindu first, and I must be a Mussalman first, so far as that duty is concerned. But where India is concerned, where India's freedom is concerned, where the welfare of India is concerned, I am an Indian first, an Indian second, an Indian last, and nothing but an Indian.

I belong to two circles of equal size, but which are not concentric. One is India, and the other is the Muslim world. When I came to England in 1920 at the head of the Khilafat Delegation, my friends said, "You must have some sort of a crest for your stationery." I decided to have it with two circles on it. In one circle was the word "India"; in the other circle was Islam, with the word "Khilafat." We as Indian Mussalmans came in both circles. We belong to these two circles, each of more than 300 millions, and we can leave neither. We are not nationalists but supernationalists, and I, as a Mussalman, say that "God made man and the Devil made the nation." Nationalism divides; our religion binds. No religious wars, no crusades, have seen such holocausts and have been so cruel at your last war, and that was a war of your nationalism, and not my Jihad.

But where our country is concerned, where the question of taxation is concerned, where our crops are concerned, where the weather is concerned, where all associations in those thousands of matters of ordinary life are concerned which are for the welfare of India, how can I say, "I am a Mussalman and he is a Hindu"? Make no mistake about the quarrels between Hindu and Mussalman: they are founded only on the fear of domination. If there is one other sin with which I charge Great Britain, in addition to the sin of emasculating India, it is the sin of making wrong histories about India and teaching them to us in our schools, with the result that our schoolboys have learnt wrong Indian history. The quarrels which are sometimes visible in our streets on certain holidays are quarrels the motives of which have been instilled into the hearts of our so-called intelligentsia—I call it unintelligentsia—by the wrong

history taught us in our schools for political purposes. If that feeling, which writes "R  vanche" so large over the politics of certain people in India, existed as it does, and if it existed to the extent which it does to-day, and the Mussalmans were everywhere in a minority of 25 per cent. and the Hindus were everywhere in a majority of 66 per cent., I could see no ray of hope to-day; but thanks to the jerry-mandering of our saints and our soldiers, if there are Provinces like that of my friend Dr. Moonje, in which I am only 4 per cent., there are other Provinces where I am 93 per cent., as in the Province of my friend Nawab Sir Abdul Qaiyum, for which we demand equal freedom. There is the old Province of Sind, where the Mussalmans first landed, where they are 73 per cent.; in the Punjab they are 56 per cent., and in Bengal 54 per cent. That gives us our safeguard, for we demand hostages as we have willingly given hostages to Hindus in the other Provinces where they form huge majorities.

I want you to realise that for the first time you are introducing a big revolution into India: for the first time majority rule is to be introduced into India. In the days of Lord Rama there was no majority rule, or he would not have been exiled. The old Pandu and Kuru rulers, who gambled their kingdoms away, did not have majority rule; Mahmud of Ghazni and Akbar and Aurengzeb did not have majority rule, nor did Sivaji; when Ranjit Singh ruled in the Punjab, he too did not have majority rule; when Warren Hastings and Clive ruled India, they did not have majority rule; and even in the days of Lord Irwin there is no majority rule. For the first time in India we are going to introduce majority rule, and I, belonging to a minority community, accept that majority rule, although I know very well that if 51 people say that 2 and 2 make 5, and 49 people say that 2 and 2 make 4, the fact that 51 say that 2 and 2 make 5 does not cause them to make 5. Still, I am prepared to submit to majority rule. Luckily, however, there are Mussalman majorities in certain Provinces, and with the federal form of government, which is suited to India, not only for the solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem, but is essential for the sake of the Princes also, this is in our favour. The centrifugal and centripetal tendencies are so well balanced in India that we are bound to have a federal system of government there, not as a distant ideal, as the Government of India says, but to-day, now, this minute. We shall leave this Conference only with federation established in India, with new treaties made with the Princes, with the consent of the Crown and the Princes.

I sometimes hear it said that nothing can be done without the consent of the Princes. No, Your Highnesses, we, Our Lownesses, will do nothing without your consent. But when, at the end of 1857, the powers of the East India Company were transferred to the Crown, nobody ever thought of asking for your consent. There was not so much as "By your leave." Your relationship with the Crown was established merely *ipso facto*, but it was with a family of Kings and Queens who were really good people, many of whom

worshipped their conscience as their King, and it is that which gives us hope.

One more word and I have done. I wish to say just this about the Army. I am giving away a secret in regard to the Army now. When, ten years ago, H.R.H. The Duke of Connaught was sent out to India to open the Indian Legislatures, Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Mohtilal Nehru and myself were invited by our late lamented dear friend C. R. Das, whom our eyes seek in vain to-day at this Table, and who would have brought Mohtilal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi also to this Table had he been alive to-day, for he was a man of imagination. Gandhiji and I were putting up together as the guests of Das, and I was acting as Lord Chamberlain to Mahatma Gandhi. Any number of people were coming to see Mahatma Gandhi and to touch his feet—I wish he had had the feet of a centipede, but even then he could not have coped with the thousands who came to touch his feet—and in trying to satisfy them and spare Gandhiji, too, as much as possible, my life was a misery. Amongst these people I saw 10 or 12 tall, turbaned men, not in uniform, but looking and dressed very much alike. I thought they were members of the C.I.D. from the Punjab. My belief, after my arrest and internment in 1915 on the reports of a spy neighbour, is that there is no place where God and the British C.I.D. are not present, so that whatever I say and whatever I do, I say and do in the belief that God Almighty and the British spy are equally omnipresent. I went up to these supposed British spies, and I said, "What can I do for you? I have been doing a lot for the C.I.D. by way of sedition and I should like to do something more." They said, "We do not belong to the C.I.D.; we belong to the Army." "Then what," I asked, "are you doing in this seditious house?" They said, "We have come to pay our respects to Mahatma Gandhi; we belong to the escort that has been brought from Poona for the Duke of Connaught." I said if they wanted to see Mahatma Gandhi I would take them in straight away. Mahatma Gandhi asked them whether they were interested in Swaraj, and they said, "Yes." Out of respect for the British Indian Army, I will now stand up and repeat their words. Gandhiji said to them: "Are you interested in Swaraj, you who belong to the Army, and who have been brought as an escort all the way from Poona because they cannot trust the people of Bengal, their first Presidency, for the safety of the Duke of Connaught?" They said, "Only the other day our Colonel on parade told us laughingly something about you, Gandhiji, saying, 'Do you know that bunnia, Gandhi, wants Swaraj for India?' and he laughed, and asked us: 'Do you also want Swaraj?' Of course he expected we would all say 'No. Sir.' but the regiment very quietly said 'Yes, Sir, we also want Swaraj for India'." Then the Colonel, who was terribly shocked, asked them why they wanted Swaraj, and they told him that when they were sent to fight in Europe, even when they saw Belgian soldiers coming back after a defeat, these soldiers would pull themselves up and proudly reply to anyone who asked who they were, "We are Belgians; we belong to the Army of Belgium." Sometimes the French came running back

but if anybody asked them who they were, they drew themselves up and replied with pride that they belonged to the Army of France. It was the same with the British; but these men said that, even when they had won and had saved the French coast at a critical moment in October, 1914, when anybody asked them who they were, they could not say with equal pride that they belonged to the Army of India; they had to say, "We are British subjects. We belong to the Army of the British Sirkar." Now these men said that they too wanted to stand upright and be able to say, "We belong to the Army of India!" I tell you this is the fact, God's own truth, about the Indian Army. You take a plebiscite of the Indian Army, God Almighty being present, and the British spies, of course, being also present, but some of us also being present, and you will find that we know more than anybody else on that subject. India will defend herself to-day if you honestly want her to do so.

The Government of India Despatch goes further than Sir John Simon's Report and says that the Army should not be under the control of the Government of England but under the Government of India. There are three Members of the Government of India the pigment of whose skin is the same as mine, and in some cases even darker. Two of them were my stable companions in England as students, and the third also studied here at that time. If these people can control the Army, why cannot Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru be Prime Minister of India? Why cannot Sir Muhammad Shafi or Mr. Jinnah be Prime Minister of India, and control the Indian Army? Or why cannot even a humble man like myself or my big brother become the Commander-in-Chief of India? I have no doubt exhausted your patience, but I can assure you my speech has been, so far as I too am concerned, both exhausting and exhaustive. I now take my seat and I hope I shall not be called upon to speak again in the Plenary Conference until you announce, Mr. Chairman, that India is as free as England.

(Before adjourning, the Conference agreed that for future speeches there should be a time-limit of ten minutes, subject to the Chairman's discretion to extend that period in the case of such speakers as he thought fit.)

THE GENERAL DISCUSSION—(continued).

Plenary Session, 20th November, 1930.

H.H. The Nawab of Bhopal: Mr. Chairman, as several of my brother Princes have already spoken, I will crave your attention for only a few minutes. Time presses, and we are all anxious to get to work in Committee. That being the position, the thought that has been in my mind from the moment when His Majesty, the King-Emperor opened the Conference with his gracious words, is that here at last is the opportunity of getting rid for ever of the misunderstandings and the consequent cloud of suspicions that lie between our two nations. We meet in an atmosphere of goodwill, an atmosphere which has been fostered throughout his Viceroyalty by Lord Irwin, one of the greatest of Viceroys, whom India honours as one of the best friends she has ever had, and who has rendered such signal service to his country and ours in striving to bring the two together. In that atmosphere, and with an earnest desire on all sides for free and frank discussion, I have no doubt that we shall be able, under Providence, to settle the essentials which shall secure the future peace, happiness and prosperity of India as a contented member, equal in status with all the rest, of that community of free self-governing nations, which now constitute the British Empire, linked together by united loyalty to His Majesty's Throne and by a corporate ideal of mutual co-operation for the common good.

At the outset our discussions were set the high standard to which they ought to aspire by the extremely able and thoughtful opening speech of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, which has defined the goal towards which India is pressing, and has done so in a manner which, I believe, will be helpful to us all. Speaking for myself, and I am sure, too, on behalf of my brother Princes, I cordially reciprocate his view of the share which the Indian States can contribute in a united federal India, and I particularly endorse his remark that, when the time comes, they will furnish a stabilising factor in the constitution. I note that both he and other speakers recognise that nothing in a system of federation connotes any interference with the internal affairs of the States; that their treaties with the Crown will remain unaltered, unless and until modified by mutual consent, and that it is in matters of common concern, hereafter to be defined by mutual agreement, and in nothing else, that federation will be concerned. On that understanding, only one feature has to be added to the picture, namely, that the federation shall be equal on both sides and that there can be no question of the status of the States being in any way subordinate to that of the rest of India. On those conditions I entirely agree with the principle of federation. The details will have to be worked out by the Committee already appointed for the purpose and must provide that all States, who agree to participate, even the smallest, shall be properly represented.

In this connection some remarks were made as to interaction between the States and the rest of India. "It is impossible," it

was said, "to conceive of a free British India without conceiving of free Indian States." I fully subscribe to that remark, though not quite in the sense in which the speaker proceeded to develop it. A free Indian State means the disappearance of that doctrine of Paramountcy which has been imported, contrary to our treaties, into the relation between the States and the Paramount Power, and which has been so much in vogue in comparatively recent times. That, Sir, is one of the facts to be kept steadily in mind. On the other side of the case, we Princes have no apprehension as to how the processes at work in the rest of India, where we must rely on democracy not being made a cloak for aggression, will affect our peoples, and we shall be content to leave it to our States to work out their own development.

In this connection, seeing that communal troubles have bulked so largely in the news from India, thus creating an impression that the country is the cockpit of warring sects, and thus standing in the way of her aspirations, I wish to make it clear, as the point has not been brought out hitherto, that among the Princes no rift exists as between Muslims and Hindus, and that in the Indian States communal tension has so rarely occurred that it can be said to be practically non-existent. This fact brings me to a second point, namely, that there is nothing in our respective religions which should lead to such ill-will, and that the reason why it has arisen in British India has been solely political. The various minority movements have exactly the same basis, and equally the attitude of many of the politically minded in India towards Great Britain, which has demonstrated itself at times in ways which are frankly to be deplored, is not, believe me, inspired by racial animosity, but is solely political; and as soon as the foundations of the constitution for a self-governing India are well and truly laid these differences, we all believe, will automatically disappear. These are facts which I can state from personal knowledge and without risk of contradiction, because we Indian Princes are not isolated in our States, but, from our very position as Rulers, are bound to keep in touch with the course of events and the trend of thought in other parts of India. We know fully as well as the people of India, represented by the Delegates here present, and possibly more clearly than the British authorities, the amazing growth of the national feeling throughout India of India as India. The enormous importance of these facts is obvious. On the one hand they explain the statement made here on behalf of Young India, that if you give India Dominion Status to-day, in the course of a few months the cry of independence will die of itself. On the other hand, I hope that they will go far to allay the doubts with which Lord Peel explained Conservative opinion approaches the solution of the Indian problem.

Turning now for a moment to other matters, which concern the States and will come up for discussion during this Conference, the Chamber of Princes has already expressed itself strongly against the Report of the Indian States Committee and will never be satisfied until their contentions, which were so summarily brushed aside in

that Report, receive the detailed investigation they deserve in a regularly conducted inquiry. Since that Report, there is more *ex-parte* matter under the head of "Relations with States" in the recently published despatch of the Government of India, with which the Princes are just as strongly dissatisfied. These are matters for discussion in Committee and elsewhere. But I am obliged to mention them here in order to place our protest on record at the earliest opportunity and to indicate how much will have to be done in framing the list of matters of common concern, which will hereafter be the sphere of the Federal Council, and in devising a satisfactory impartial tribunal to adjudicate on all matters which may be in dispute between the States and the rest of India, or in which the States may be at variance with the officers of the Crown, with whom they are to be brought into relation in place of the Government of India.

These, Sir, are matters of very great importance to the States, as on them and on the satisfactory development of communications and the finances, the future social progress of the States will largely depend. But the matter of the most cardinal importance is the future constitution of India, which this Conference is here to discuss. The welfare of the States is inseparably bound up with that of the rest of India. I beg, therefore, of the British representatives at the Conference, and those whom they represent, to bear in mind in approaching the problem, that we are an ancient people, compared with whom many of the most powerful countries of the present day are of very recent growth. The Aryans among us have a continuity which stretches back beyond the dawn of history. Islam was a world power at the time of the Norman conquest. The Aryans had an Indian Empire before the Christian era; the Moguls had one to which the countries of Europe sent embassies, and in the last century again has an Indian Empire been evolved under the British Crown. The first two were Eastern. Their influence survives in the world to this day in religion, philosophy, art and science. Now the British Empire has grafted the West on the East; and though, as Easterners, we have our special modes of thought and our own ideals of life, we fully appreciate the great benefits which Great Britain has brought us. Peace and security and the highest standard of administration have been among her gifts, but the greatest of all is that we have again become a united living nation under the Crown. Standing where we do to-day, full of vitality, knowing our resources and our intellects, can we be expected to stand still, even for a time, and watch the rest of the world go on? Should we not enter, as we desire, into the promised land, into that greater sphere, which the genius of the British race has evolved, that of being one of the body of self-governing free Dominions, with equality of status, united in the Empire of the British Crown?

Here in the centre of the Empire St. Paul's stands as the central monument of the British race. A few years ago, though outwardly as fair as ever, it was found to be in serious danger of collapse. All parts of the Empire at once rallied to the rescue, and now the

building stands rejuvenated and strong enough to stand for all time. So, Sir, it is with India. I state, with all the earnestness I can command, that though she stands fair to the eye, the structure is full of fissures; but graft her with the cement of national unity, which is ready to hand, give her national freedom and that equality of status, for which her sons are longing, and she will stand throughout the ages as the noblest and the strongest support of the British Empire.

Mr. Joshi: I propose to make a brief statement on behalf of the workers of India on the momentous problems before this Conference. The workers of India want full responsible self-government as much as the other classes. Although, on account of ignorance and illiteracy, they do not formulate their ideas and express their feelings in the same manner as the educated classes, those of us who are in close contact with them know how strong their feelings are and how easily they are aroused.

During my visits to this country I am often asked how the workers will fare in a self-governing India. My reply has been that I hope their conditions under self-government will improve, but that, at least, their position will not be worse than it is to-day. That is a cautious reply, but I think it is an entirely adequate one. No special justification is needed for the establishment of self-government in India; it is the retention of foreign domination which requires special justification. While thinking over this subject, I have also asked myself what the British Government has done for the Indian workers and what it can do for them now. Though the British Government has much experience of the evils which generally follow in the wake of industrialisation, they are not able to avoid them in India, when that country gradually developed industries. It is true that Factory Acts were passed from time to time, but the motives of the British Government, through whose pressure in the initial stages the legislation was passed, could easily be questioned; and, as the Government of India was also greatly influenced by European industrialists in India, these measures were very inadequate and could not effectively check the evils which were growing apace. Latterly also some legislation has been passed, through the influence of the International Labour Conferences, and on account of the pressure of the recently started, but rapidly growing, trade union movement in the country. But even these efforts fall short of the needs of the time, on account of the fact that the Government of India and the Provincial Governments are now dominated by the joint influence of the Indian and European industrialists in India. To-day the Secretary of State for India and the British Parliament have practically lost all their power of initiative in the matter, and the workers of India depend solely on the strength of their organisation and on whatever political influence they can bring to bear on the Indian legislatures.

What would have been the condition of Indian workers if British rule had never been established in India is a hypothetical question, but one can draw an inference from the fact that, during the last

ten years, neither the Legislative Assembly nor any Provincial Council has refused to pass any labour legislation brought forward by the Government, and so it may be assumed that the position of Indian workers would not have been worse than it is to-day.

I realise that, even in a self-governing India, Heaven will not immediately descend to earth for the Indian workers; but their chances of success in their struggle will be greater than when they are under a Government which is really responsible neither to the British Parliament nor to the legislatures in India. The struggle will also be made somewhat easier, as the extraordinary influence which the European industrialists in India exercise to-day will be greatly reduced.

But this is not all. My friend Mr. Shiva Rao and myself have come to this Conference in the hope that, with the help and sympathy of the other Delegates, the constitution of a self-governing India will be so framed that the political influence of the workers on their Government will be much greater than it is to-day. For this purpose we should like in the first place the constitution to contain a declaration of the fundamental rights of workers. It is true that such a declaration has not the force of legislation, but none the less it will serve a very useful moral purpose. Secondly, the constitution must be founded upon universal adult suffrage. Much is made of the practical difficulties; it is said the constituencies would be unwieldy, but this difficulty is not expected to disappear at any time, and the Indian masses will never agree to deprive themselves of their rights of citizenship for ever. Much is also made of the difficulties created by illiteracy, but those difficulties exist even to-day in the case of persons already enfranchised or whom it is proposed to enfranchise. The possession of property added to illiteracy does not remove the difficulties which may be due to illiteracy.

Thirdly, without entering on the question of a federal or unitary form of government, the workers of India insist that labour legislation shall always remain a central or federal subject, and that the Central or Federal Government shall always retain to itself the power of control and supervision in its enforcement. If labour legislation and its enforcement are left to Provincial Governments or to the constituent parts of the Federation, labour legislation and its enforcement will be very difficult. If the constitution does not make proper provision for this, it will be utterly useless to the workers. Moreover, labour legislation and its enforcement must remain central or federal subjects for the ratification and enforcement of International Conventions on labour subjects. Here I must draw the attention of the Conference to the fact that by Section X of Article 405 of the Treaty of Versailles, Part XIII. Labour, a federal State, the power of which to ratify International Conventions is limited, escapes more easily from its international obligations on labour matters. The practical effect of this section of the Peace Treaty to the disadvantage of workers may be judged from the fact that, while even a backward country like India, under

a unitary form of Government, could ratify eleven conventions of the International Labour Conference, advanced countries, like Australia and Canada, under a federal form of government, could ratify only four conventions each. I therefore hope that the power of the Indian Central Government, whether federal or unitary, to ratify international conventions and to secure their enforcement will not be in any way limited. This subject will no doubt be considered by the Royal Commission over which Mr. Whitley has been very ably presiding and, although the Commission may not report before this Conference finishes its work, I have absolutely no doubt in my mind that the Commission will generally support the view that I have put forward.

I must here refer to the position of Indian States, whose coming under the Indian constitution will whole-heartedly be welcomed by Indian workers. I hope the representatives of the Princes will agree to a constitution in which labour legislation, as well as its enforcement, for the whole of India, and the ratification of international conventions and their enforcement, will not have unnecessary difficulties due to the form of the constitution. At present the Indian States have done nothing to recognise their international obligations in Labour matters, which I hope they will not hereafter do.

Lastly, may I say that to-day Labour is not the only matter which is internationally considered? The tendency to find an international solution to our difficulties is naturally, and very properly, growing and occupying a wide sphere, and I hope that our Constitution will be so framed in this Conference that India, as a whole, will be able to take full benefit of the international action, and India, as a whole, will also be able to be helpful in the international solution of the difficulties of the world. Whatever form of government we decide to establish in this Conference, let us, at least, do nothing to make future changes in that form practically impossible.

We cannot settle our constitution for all time. If it is found by experience that the form of government, which we settle in this Conference, is not suited to the needs of the future, it should be possible by constitutional means to secure such changes in the form of government as may be found necessary. If my suggestions regarding incorporation of the Declaration of the Fundamental Rights of Indian workers in the constitution and the establishment of universal adult franchise be accepted, as I hope they will be, and if the constitution is so framed that the Central or Federal Government, with or without Indian States included in it, will retain in its hands full authority, without any limitations, regarding labour legislation and its enforcement, and regarding the ratification and enforcement of international conventions and other obligations, the immediate establishment of full self-government in India will not only secure for the workers of India an improvement in their present position, but eventually will enable them to occupy the same position in their country as the workers of Great Britain are occupying in their own.

Begum Shah Nawaz: Mr. Prime Minister, my sister Delegate's presence and mine in this historic gathering is an illustration, indeed, of the fact that the so-called unchanging East is unchanging no longer. Ten years ago who could have thought of Indian women coming to London and taking part in the deliberations of such a Conference? To-day, not only a Hindu, but a Muslim woman, belonging to a family the women of which have always observed strict purdah, are actually sitting with their brethren around one Table in order to evolve a suitable constitution for their country.

This important and historic gathering is unique of its kind, for it is the first time that the Princes and people of India are sitting together, with the representatives of the three great Parties in England, to discuss and frame the future constitution of India. But it is also unique because for the first time women have been admitted to such a gathering.

Sir, we are grateful to you, to the Secretary of State, and to His Excellency Lord Irwin that, when issuing invitations to the representatives of all the parties, you, and they, did not forget that half of the country on which depends the welfare of India's future generation.

Sir, the history of my country is the history of nations who have tried, sometimes successfully, but more often unsuccessfully, to weld together a continent like India into one great empire, one great nation. Most of these nations came from countries near and distant, allured by the rich plains of Hindustan and by its fabulous wealth, beauty and culture. Under some of them India not only enjoyed peace and tranquillity, but achieved a high culture and civilisation, thus contributing more than its share to the progress of the world. To-day we are witnessing, not the birth, but the re-birth of a great ancient nation. Sir, very few people in this country realise the tremendous change in our country which has taken place during the last five years. Things have moved and are moving at such a tremendous pace that sometimes we ourselves are startled. In the remote corners of India, in the out of the way places, you will find people, especially young boys and girls, talking of their national aspirations and of the freedom and liberty of their Motherland. There is such an awakening in the youth of the country, both in the rural and urban areas, that it is not possible to check the growing desire, the increasing spirit, which animates them to form themselves into a nation worthy of the name. We, the women of that reviving nation, cannot but rejoice at this awakening. But, happy as we might feel, this brings with it the tremendous responsibility of guiding the younger generations. It is our duty as mothers, as sisters, as wives, to show them the right track and lead them along the straight road.

Sir, the basis of human society is federal. A union of two forms a home, a group of homes is known as a village, villages together become a town, a number of towns form a district, and a federation of districts is called a province or a country. Modern civilisation

with all its culture and development of the human mind, has brought home to us the fact that for a big country like India, where different races and different interests exist, a government established on the basic principle of federation alone can be a success.

By following this principle, countries like the United States of America, the Australian and the Swiss Federations, have become some of the greatest nations of to-day. Units bind themselves together for the sake of their Motherland, and for the purposes of defence from foreign aggression, and thus gain that peace and tranquillity which is essential for the full development and progress of a nation. Having realised this, we, the women Delegates from India, support the proposal of a federal form of government for our country. Such a form will give to our people in their respective Provinces, in their natural surroundings, and in their own traditional culture, freedom and scope for the full development of the different faculties given to them by Providence. Provincial genius in every sphere of life will better flower amidst its own native surroundings, and will thus spread its perfume all over the country and the world. A Tagore in Bengali and a Muhammad Iqbal in Urdu, by writing in their respective languages, could enrich the world with such gems of thought and literature.

We are glad, Sir, that our Princes have proved true sons of the soil of their Motherland, and are ready to join an All India Federation. The golden day for our country will be when the Indian India and the British India will link themselves for common purposes, thus forming themselves into one great nation.

Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the womanhood of India, I make an earnest appeal to you to let us go back to our country with such a measure of Reforms as, when placing them before our younger generations, we may be able to say to them, "In this age of scientific development, when no country can stand isolated, you have in the British Commonwealth of Nations a ready-made union. Now that an equal partnership with the sister Dominions is offered to you, what more do you require?"

Sir, having had many opportunities of meeting quite a number of British people of all shades of opinion, I find that one of their arguments against India getting full measure of reforms is: "How can India be given Dominion Status when it is so backward in social reform?" Such remarks have often been made by the Press, as well as by unsympathetic politicians in public. My reply to them is, "Yes, we have many of our social problems to tackle, but show me any country on the face of the earth where such problems do not exist in one form or another?" We have taken our problems in hand, and are trying to tackle them day by day; with the help of God we hope to achieve—and achieve very soon—that Western freedom of speech and action, combined with Eastern restraint, which is the ideal of our womanhood. The social reform of a country depends mostly upon its women. With the best intention in the world, a foreign government may introduce excellent measures of social reform, but because it is a foreign

government, the reforms advocated by it are always looked upon with suspicion. As soon as we have the legislation of our country in our own hands, we can better do away with some of the social evils existing to-day, just as Japan, Turkey, Persia, Mysore, Baroda, Bhopal, and Travancore have been able to do. Almost as soon as our men got the franchise, they did not hesitate in giving us our share: and now that the women of India are coming forward and taking an active part in the political life of the country, the solution of all these problems will not be difficult to find. With women to guide in social matters, the men of a country can achieve greater success in social reform.

Mr. Chairman, whatever may be the ultimate form of government decided upon, we hope that this Conference will not treat us in the way we have been treated in the Government of India Despatch. The fate of half the population of the country has been decided in one sentence. Had that one sentence said that sex should be no disqualification for women in any way, we would have rejoiced. But to finish nearly 160 million of His Majesty's subjects by saying that "No special provision should be made for women," shows a complete lack of understanding. But, if others have blundered, we hope and pray that this Conference will not, and that it will give women their adequate share in the administration of their country.

Sir, with your permission, I earnestly appeal to the British Delegations, as well as to my countrymen, to sit around this Table in a spirit of mutual co-operation and good will, with only one aim and one object in view, that of finding a suitable constitution for India: a constitution which, while satisfying the legitimate aspirations of an ancient nation like India, by giving it full Dominion Status, with certain reservations, of course, for the transitional period—the fewer the better—should be the means of removing mistrust and suspicion and should establish an everlasting bond of friendship between England and India.

I appeal to you all; let us not sit down in the spirit of the ruler and the ruled, but as friends, with sympathetic hearts, and open minds, to arrive at a conclusion which will help the suffering masses of the country that we love. India, bruised and aching, is looking up to us—rather not only India, but the whole world is looking up to us—to spread the balm of good will and friendship. Let us not disappoint them. May Almighty God bless our efforts.

Sir Mirza M. Ismail: Mr. Chairman, I shall be as brief as possible. I only wish to say that in the opinion of the States which I am privileged to represent at this Conference—Mysore, Travancore, Cochin and Pudukota—the time has come for making a radical change in the present system of government in India. That is a change which seems equally necessary in the interest of both countries—not more necessary for India than it is for Great Britain; Great Britain which is only less dear to us than our own Motherland. To my mind, the success of this Conference will be judged

mainly by this test: how far have we been able to bring England and India closer together in bonds of true friendship and unity. India wants to remain within the Empire as an equal partner with the rest. She has no desire to sever her connection with Great Britain. As my friend, Mr. Jayakar, said the other day, this cry of independence is only a cry of despair. I would attach no importance to it, save as an indication of the intense desire felt by the people of India generally for greater opportunities of self-expression and self-development.

There is, I believe, general agreement with the view, both in this Conference and outside, that the future government of India should be constructed on a federal basis. What exactly is meant by the term "federal" in its application to the peculiar conditions of India will have to be discussed and determined in Committee. That—I mean the constitution of the Central Government—is the fundamental issue before this Conference.

By agreeing to join an all-India Federation, the Ruling Princes have rendered incalculable service to their Motherland at this most critical juncture in her history. Their attitude has enormously facilitated the work of this Conference and has made the whole political problem of India more easy of a satisfactory solution than it would have been otherwise. I am one of those who entertain no doubt whatever that the Princes will never have any reason to regret their decision, and that they and their States will occupy an honoured and assured position in the future councils of their Motherland. India is a land of many creeds and many communities and diverse interests; but I believe that it is this very diversity that will go far to ensure the requisite stability in the democratic institutions that are proposed to be established in our country.

Another matter upon which we—I mean the Indian section of the Conference—are agreed is that a measure of responsibility should be introduced at the Centre if the constitution is to work satisfactorily and to enjoy an adequate measure of confidence and support from the people. Whatever may be the risks and the difficulties in taking such a step—and they are undoubtedly considerable—the British Government will, we all hope, come to the conclusion that a solution which does not satisfy the people at large is no solution at all. It can neither work smoothly nor endure for any length of time. A constitution which provides full autonomy in the Provinces, responsibility at the Centre—subject to such transitional safeguards as may be necessary and unavoidable—and a close association between British India and the States in matters of common concern—this, let us hope, may be the result of our deliberations here, a result which, I venture to think, would satisfy all reasonable people in India.

In conclusion, I should like to assure my fellow Delegates from British India that we of the Indian States whole-heartedly join with them in their appeal to the British nation to set India on the high road to self-government. I would, at the same time, venture to ask my countrymen to remember—I hope I shall not be misunder-

stood, for I think I speak nothing but the obvious truth—that that great journey cannot be accomplished successfully, nor can those patriotic aspirations, ours as much as theirs, be fully realised except in company of their compatriots in the States, and, may I also add, with the goodwill and co-operation of Great Britain?

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar: Mr. Chairman, the first temptation to which I felt I was likely to succumb was to concentrate on certain statements which have been made, and to allude to certain misconceptions that were apparently present even to those who had a large experience of Indian affairs. On a very memorable occasion an English statesman urged his audience to consult a large map. It is equally necessary to consult detailed histories. It is astonishing that on occasions of this kind the history of England and the history of India are apt to be forgotten. Let me, in passing—not in a spirit of reproach—advert only to three matters. My Lord Peel referred to monopolies. Did he remember that in 1721 there was a prohibition of imports into England of any Indian printed calicoes? Did he advert to the series of statutes beginning from the reign of Queen Elizabeth which prevented Indian goods reaching England? Did he remember what took place in 1874 when the representatives of a great trading federation remarked upon the calamity of new mills being erected in Bombay? But I shall not dwell on that aspect of the matter any further. Let us consult large maps and histories.

It is often said that the professional politicians are rife in India, but let it be remembered that the object of the professional politician, and of every other politician, is ultimately to seek what is beyond politics and what is beyond the transient needs of the hour—the prosperity and the contentment of the people. In the few remarks which I shall permit myself to make I shall have reference only to this aspect. You had a great and magnificent gathering here at the Imperial Conference. What were the object and aim of that Conference? Was it not to devise means and measures for the purpose of improving the economic condition of England and of the Empire? We believe, and believe fervently, that the economic condition of the Indian masses will be improved only if the economic position can be dealt with by the people of India. A good deal was said and written, both before and after the Imperial Conference, about measures of preference and measures of protection; but what India wants is this: whether one theory or the other of trade and fiscal management be correct, let it be given to India to make her experiments in her own way, by her own people, for her own good. It is that ideal which is at the back of our endeavours. We believe that the fiscal and the tariff policy of India can never be regulated, can never be adjusted to bring about the real prosperity of India, unless those in charge of these great subjects are animated by a purely Indian standpoint.

Nextly, a great deal has been said of the possible dislocation, from the international point of view, of mistakes in finance likely

to be made by a self-governing India. It has been pointed out that if the credit of India were not stabilised and maintained before the world, India's progress would be greatly retarded. True; but does anyone fail to realise that the school of experience is a sharp and stern one? Will any person in India, let him be the most irresponsible politician, ignore the fact that if India's finances are conducted on a haphazard and risky basis so that if she goes to the money markets of the world she finds that she cannot raise a loan to-day, to-morrow India is bound to stop all nation-building schemes. Is that not a case of an evil producing its own remedy? Is not the experience of other countries a lesson to us? Is it not a fact that countries belonging to the British Dominions have had their own analogous experiences in this matter? Have they not profited by their experiences? Have not great countries like the United States passed through financial dis-equilibrium and survived? After all, in financial matters more than in any other, the school of experience is the best school at which to learn, and we shall never learn unless we emerge from the position of being *in statu pupillari*. And, after all, there have been very severe critics of the Indian financial policy as handled by "experts".

When we came to this Conference we came in spite of antagonism, but it has been rightly remarked by Lord Peel that the Government of India Despatch has already become out of date. The memorable attitude of the Indian Princes and the line they have taken have made that Despatch absolutely obsolete. The ideal of national federation, not as a dim and distant ideal, but as a matter of practical politics, which is adumbrated and envisaged by the Indian Princes in their assembled wisdom has made the assumptions of the Government of India's Despatch entirely fallacious. But more than that, it must be said that the rapid march of events in India and the integration of thoughts and ideals, which is going on apace, will make all these despatches, memoranda and reports out of date, because every part of India, it must be granted, has now joined together in the determination to solve its own problems through its own men, aided by the best brains, by the best talent and by the best goodwill on the part of Great Britain—but only aided and not directed.

There are two more points with which I desire to deal. Something was said about H. E. The Viceroy's speech and declaration not making any promise of immediate translation of the ideal of self-government into practice. Let us not hear of such arguments in this Conference, I beseech you. The main thing to be decided at this Conference is whether it is possible to go back to India and make for a contented India? There was an idea thrown out somewhat to this effect: "Assume that this Conference arrives at a certain result: what will happen? You will all go back to India and you will probably find that irresponsible men will wrest all the power out of your hands, and that will be to the disadvantage of India and England alike." Make that impossible by your own mode of dealing with the situation: and you will make it impossible

only if this Conference achieves something real and substantial. The only way in which one can take it out of the power of the irresponsibles to ruin society is to make it possible for the irresponsibles to become responsible. You will undoubtedly bring about that result if you achieve something which is worth longing for, striving for and dying for, as the result of this Conference. I firmly believe that opinion in this Conference will be unanimous that the only way of producing peace and good will and contentment and comradeship between India and England is to hammer out a system of government which will enable the most restless spirits of India to feel that there has been brought into being a constitution worth living under. If that is done, this Conference will have achieved an epoch-making result; but if we have to go back to our country and say that we have brought back only a halting or fragmentary system of government, not worth looking at by the practical and the idealistic, we shall have failed. Then alone will arise the calamity to which allusion was made, namely the calamity of the irresponsibles coming to positions of irresistible might. On the other hand, if with the co-operation of the Indian Princes and British Indians, if with the co-operation of British statesmen and Indian statesmen, we achieve real self-government, we shall make it impossible for those, who have not the best ideals of both countries before their mind's eye, to work their will. The choice is before all of us and it is a fateful choice.

Lord Reading: This is, indeed, a memorable Conference. I have been more and more impressed as I have listened to every speech from those who have addressed us. It is memorable in the first place because it marks a stage in the development of the constitutional advance of India. Hitherto, the process has never been adopted of a Round Table Conference to discuss the propositions before the Government; but very often—it may be too often, as I have sometimes thought—in the past, decisions of the Government were formulated and invitations then issued to attend a Conference to change them if possible. Obviously, India was anxious to change that system, and for my part I am glad that this has happened; I think it gives India a fairer opportunity to put her case, before the Government has come to conclusions, instead of having to argue against a decision already made and in which, no doubt, every consideration had been taken into account. For that reason, I think we were all pleased when the proposal was made that this Round Table Conference should take place, but I do not think we quite appreciated how important it would be; indeed, I am sure even those who set out from India for this country to take part in this historic Conference did not realise then the events that have happened since we have been here. If I may be permitted to do so, I should like, perhaps out of a gallantry we all like to display in the presence of ladies, to say that this Conference is first notable because of the presence of Indian ladies. That is a distinct advance by the East. As I study the affairs of the East from day to

day, I am every day more and more astonished at the rapidity, the almost dazzling swiftness, with which the East seems to outdistance the West. Here is a movement which has only just started in India. In my time it was only beginning, and yet here we have the ladies present and taking part in our debates.

Let me turn to what, to my mind, is a distinct historical advance in the history of India, which once begun can never stop, once it has left its imprint can never be effaced, which is going to take India further, perhaps, than some of us ever thought when we have had visions of what India might achieve. We have now our minds enlarged, our area of vision extended, our horizon infinitely widened, because we have the Princes taking part with us and with British India. The Government of India, as you are aware, has always had these two separate limbs, so to speak, of the government. On the one hand, it has to deal with the Princes of India; on the other, it deals with British India. Think of the improvement as they have themselves portrayed it in various speeches to-day. Think of all that is open to us if now we proceed together to form a Government for all India, a United States of India, as it has been termed, which will in truth be the greatest conception of federation, should it take place, that the world has yet seen. It is unique in its character and quite remarkable in its extent. There is no sub-continent, no nation in the world that can present to you, to us, to the world, the picture as we see it before us. Never can this be paralleled. Here you have the rulers of great Indian States, the representatives of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of the great and powerful State of Hyderabad, the representative of Mysore, a State which has always, if I may be permitted to say so, taken the lead in the advance towards constitutional government, of Baroda, which certainly has not lingered behind, and of many others—I should like to go right through them, but time does not permit—the very picture they have brought before us shows us the Rulers coming here and taking part with the representatives of British India, because, like them, they feel the call of the Mother-country, and they put before you their desire to join in all that may be for the good of India.

Let me turn to the main subject that we have to discuss, but before doing so I should like to say how deeply impressed I am by the speeches we have heard during the whole course of the discussion and also by the conversations we have had outside this room with those who are representing the various parts of India.

In approaching the subject of India, I speak here to-day on behalf of the Liberal section of Parliament, but I speak also on behalf of myself, and you will permit me to say on my own behalf that I have a profound interest in Indian affairs. I can never forget all that happened in India; I shall always recall it and always have an abiding affection for India and the memories it has left me. I have told you, Sir, that I speak for the Liberals. We are here discussing two main questions, as I understand it. The first is the one propounded by you, Sir, as to whether the future

constitution should be on a federal or a unitary basis. The other is incidental to it, and you have, Mr. Prime Minister, set us a good example by allowing the fullest latitude of debate, so that no technical ruling should be given in this great discussion. We have been able to speak of everything. What stands out most is the demand for advance in constitutional government. Let me first deal with that one aspect of it. Dominion Status is a vague term. I am not going back on all that has happened in the past; we want to deal with the questions as they now stand. Dominion Status I gather to mean a status equal to that of the other Dominions within the Empire. That is the true meaning of it. It has never been defined; no lawyer has ever attempted to put it into definition, but I do not suppose anyone will doubt that that is what in truth is meant by it. Keep that meaning clear in your minds, because if you do, I think you must see that there are very many questions to be considered and discussed before you can get quite to the ultimate goal you naturally strive to attain. Let me add this, so that I may clear the ground and not take up further time in discussion. Speaking on behalf of those with whom I am associated, we most fully accept the statement that the natural issue of the Declaration of 1917 is that of Dominion Status, and that the implication of the words used is Dominion Status. We do not wish to discuss fine shades of difference; they may have had their place, and I take full responsibility for having at one time thought that they had; that responsibility properly falls on me and not on others. We have had questions raised and answers given which have cleared the ground, and we are now dealing with the subject as it stands before us.

I would ask you to bear in mind that though I speak for the Liberal section and have no right to speak for any other, I hope that when any of us of the three sections of Parliament speaks in connection with India, we shall always speak as one Parliament and not as members of different sections of Parliament. I hope that in the end we may be able to continue that unity in Parliament which we have sought so hard to maintain. But, speaking once more for our own section, let me say that we Liberals, who inherit the great traditions of liberty and self-government which have distinguished this country, and who try in our humble way to travel along the avenues marked out for us, have no desire in the slightest degree—and not only no desire but no intention—to deviate from the promises made. In that at least I am quite sure I speak not only for my own section, but for Parliament. Whatever has been promised stands. There may be differences of opinion between us, there may be differences of opinion between you from India and us from Britain, as to the pace at which we should advance; but there can be no difference of opinion with regard to the goal we seek to reach, and indeed we shall do everything we possibly can to help in attaining that goal.

I would, however, remind you that the object of this Conference is to arrive at proposals which will be submitted to Parliament by

His Majesty's Government, and, it is hoped, with at any rate some considerable assent. That is the purpose for which we are here, and the ultimate conclusion which will be reached after all our discussions. I have no desire or intention to take up time in discussing the difficulties which must arise. But, Sir, we must speak with sincerity; we must speak with frankness, as all have recognised. You will forgive me if I use a strong expression; it is only expressing what I have heard in different directions from many of you, when I say that it is idle to assert that at this moment there could be anything like equality of status—that is constitutional status—in India with the Dominions. It is idle at this moment because there are other questions which must be discussed, and, indeed, no one could more freely have recognised them than Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who introduced the subject. Begin, for example, with the Army. I am not going to suggest how it should be dealt with. Then there are foreign affairs and a number of other questions. But, in the end, whatever the proposal is, it will have to be decided by Parliament; it is Parliament that must consider, and Parliament that has to be persuaded.

Will you let me remind you that there is already a variety of literature available. There is the Simon Commission Report; it is true—we know the history of it—it does not commend itself to you, but let me remind you again that it contains a mass of most valuable material, and, speaking for myself, I have the greatest admiration for the work that Sir John Simon has done, and for those who were associated with him in it. Those of you who are, for reasons not to be entered into at the moment, too ready to throw aside the Report of the Simon Commission, may perhaps be more minded to study that of the Government of India. It is striking that in the Report of the Government of India the Viceroy and the Members of Council, both British and Indian, giving their views, you will find that there is not much difference between that and the conclusions arrived at, in the main, by the Statutory Commission.

I want to pass from that and get to what I conceive to be the subject we are considering to-day—that is, whether or not this government is to be on a federal system. I have one observation with regard to both these Reports. The Statutory Commission lays great stress upon federation, tries all it can to direct our attention to federation, and make it the ultimate goal. The Government of India takes the same view, only regarding it as more distant. Since then, as has been said by more than one speaker, a great change has taken place because of the Princes, and I will refer to their position very briefly. I am dealing mainly with this because it is the subject of the debate before us. The Princes have explained their position. I cannot, of course, enter into discussion of the various considerations put forward. They do not all agree in detail, that was not to be expected. We shall, I hope, arrive at conclusions when we sit around the table and try to settle the great question. But what I do feel is the pertinence

of the poetic exhortation which His Highness 'The Maharaja of Alwar addressed to us at this Table, and the invocation which followed from it. I would try and rise with him and all of you to the pinnacles and not lose my way in the woods, where I might not find the straight and clear path. I would keep straight, on, looking ahead, striving to banish distrust and to create trust that we may work together with one understanding, with one purpose, to do the best we can in the interests of India, and that this Federation of all India, this great and mighty conception, may be reached with the assistance of the Princes and of yourselves. In later years we may look back to the days of this Conference and realise that it has the great merit of having declared for this principle of federalism. I hope—but, of course, that is entirely for you—that we may be able by a unanimous conclusion to arrive at the result that we should proceed to consider the federal system, that that should be our work, quite understanding that we are dealing only with the principle, and not with all the details. If we do accomplish that, then this Conference will have succeeded to a great extent at the start, and will have changed the whole aspect of the situation as it existed before the Conference met.

H. H. The Maharaja of Nawanagar: Mr. Prime Minister, before I begin to address this Conference, may I add a word of congratulation to the gracious lady who addressed us this morning. Speaking on behalf of all of us, whether the British Delegations, the Princes, or the other Delegates from India, we congratulate her most heartily on the most wonderful speech that I have heard from the lips of an Indian woman on so momentous an occasion.

Mr. Prime Minister, you have, unfortunately, on this last day, curtailed our time of speaking, and therefore, although I had hoped to address you from notes, yet, lest I should wander and take up too much of your time, I will confine myself to reading what I have to say.

Much has already been said, at this Table, on the supreme gravity of the issues that agitate India to-day; I can hardly add, with any words of mine, to the volume of testimony that is forthcoming from speaker after speaker, who brings to this country very recent and intimate knowledge of the national movement that has long since stepped beyond the proverbial lawyer, and has entered the hearts and homes of all classes of people and in all parts of the country. It is a mass movement that has got in its grip the mind of India—not the literate classes only, as is often alleged in this country. Let that stern fact be clearly recognised and properly appreciated.

I will refer in the first place to a few of the admirable speeches, as for example those of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir Muhammad Shafi. I naturally refrain from referring to the utterances of the members of my own Order, because they embodied my own personal views. On many points those that I do refer to were so frank and explicit that, in my humble opinion, the Conference should be

grateful to the speakers for putting the issues on both sides with such clarity. Our congratulations are due to all of them, particularly to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru for his masterly review of the position in British India to-day, about which he is eminently qualified to speak. We, the Ruling Princes, Sir, represent the conservative element in the Indian polity, and yet we cannot afford to ignore the fact that times are changing rapidly and that the doctrine of *festina lente* is not suitable to the pace of progress which the changing conditions imperatively demand. We have the example of England before us to follow. England preserves even in her wonderful progress a sober conservative outlook and yet takes rapid strides, without losing grip of the essentials of stability.

I must not allow this opportunity to pass without a reference to the striking speech delivered by His Highness The Maharaja of Kashmir, on the opening day of the Conference. In a few well-chosen sentences, His Highness laid before you the ideals which animate us and the expectations which prompted us to attend this Conference.

We have always stood for the steady progress of our country. We have the staunchest possible faith in the destiny of India as a whole. It cannot be otherwise. We have inherited its traditions, its culture, its instincts, its honour. Our ancestors shaped its history at one period or another. We have rejoiced when it prospered, we have suffered when it suffered. On many occasions our blood has been shed in her defence. And though in the altered conditions of to-day we may sometimes be judged harshly even by our own countrymen, we have always held nearest to our heart her prestige and her honour. Sir, it may interest particularly the British Delegates to know that the word "subject" had no place in our vocabulary. In our language our subjects are known as our "praja," which is a Sanscrit word meaning "children". In that concept there is no tinge of subordination which is implied in the Latin root of the word subject. A Prince and his people—members of a united household—living together as father and children is a concept that is very dear to the oriental mind, and it underlies oriental polity. I am not talking just now of the comparative merits of democracy and monarchy. I am only alluding to the culture of India and of the polity to which it gave rise. As His Highness The Maharaja of Bikaner said, traditions of centuries of kingship are ingrained in our being. But we at once recognise the obligations of rulership—the obligations which are immense and proportioned to the sanctity of the united family ideal. Such being the Indian tradition, the solution we are seeking of this problem with which we are confronted, must be found in consonance with that tradition.

My purpose, therefore, is to bring home to this gathering the vital necessity of satisfying the aspirations of India as a whole, if she is to continue as a contented and vigorous member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. I have no hesitation in saying

that her association with Great Britain is not merely a historic event, it is an event of great import. It is providential. It cannot be otherwise, for we find two countries, separated geographically and culturally, though not racially, brought together in the closest contact and the most intimate association. And I say advisedly racially, Sir, because Mr. Baldwin was good enough in a memorable speech he uttered about a year ago, and which created a profound and happy feeling in India, to refer to Indians and Englishmen as coming from the great Aryan stock. "Far away in time, in the dawn of history the greatest race of the many races then emerging from prehistoric mists was the great Aryan race. When that race left the country which it occupied in the Western part of Central Asia, one great branch moved west, and in the course of their wanderings they founded the cities of Athens and Sparta; they founded Rome; they made Europe, and in the veins of the principal nations of Europe flows the blood of their Aryan forefathers. The speech of the Aryans, which they brought with them, has spread throughout Europe. It has spread to America. It has spread to the Dominions beyond the seas. At the same time, one branch went south, and they crossed the Himalayas. They went into the Punjab and they spread through India, and, as an historic fact, ages ago, there stood side by side in their ancestral land, the ancestors of the English people and the ancestors of the Rajputs and of the Brahmins. And now, after æons have passed, the children of the remotest generations from that ancestry have been brought together by the inscrutable decree of Providence, to set themselves to solve the most difficult, the most complicated political problem that has ever been set to any people of the world." As Lord Peel very rightly said, we in India have always appreciated the great work that Britain has done. Britain has done well by India in a variety of ways. She has developed her resources and modernised many of her institutions; above all she has established peace and tranquillity. All this is acknowledged and gratefully appreciated. Three boons in particular stand to the eternal credit of Great Britain. I will give the first place to the *Pax Britannica*, which has enabled India to make much material progress. She has given India a unifying medium through the English language, the noble literature of which has helped to introduce a new spirit of liberty and self respect. Thirdly, India's connection with England has proved to the world that the two countries are complementary to each other, and to-day the world stands to benefit by the mutual "give and take" of the two countries of which they are eminently capable.

Speaking for myself, I have been educated in this country and have spent many years of my life here. England is almost as much my cultural and spiritual home as India; its great institutions and its political life have been to me a perennial source of refreshment. I once belonged to the great political Party of which the Marquis of Reading is so distinguished a representative. From her I have imbibed much that is ennobling and elevating. Mr. President, my hopes centre in the "perpetuation" of the British

connection. which, in my belief, is a guarantee of the advancement of my country and of her future greatness.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has asked us to federate with British India; we are prepared to federate so long as our internal autonomy is preserved and our present hardships are remedied. We, the Ruling Princes, are jealous of interference by others in our methods of government. We therefore feel bound to refrain from making any suggestions about the exclusively domestic problems of British India. Subject to such mutual freedom in internal affairs, let us say that, for all questions of common concern, we regard federation with British India as being both possible and desirable at the earliest date. As I see the position, British India in federation will continue to manage its own affairs, its great Provinces adjusting their relations between themselves. So also the States—possibly assisted by a States' Council—will continue to manage their own affairs. But for all matters of common concern there must be a Federal Council, composed of authorised representatives from British India and the States. I see no reason why a federation should not be effected as soon as the difficult matters, which fall to be adjusted, can be settled, and I feel sure that only by federation can those aspirations for the dignity and status of India, which we all of us entertain, in due time be achieved, namely, the equality of status with the sister Dominions within the Empire.

But, I must reiterate that no Federation has ever come into being, in which the federal units did not know what their rights were. Therefore while asking for federation, we also ask for the “judicial” ascertainment of the rights of the States. The present position that the Paramount Power can at will over-ride the treaties is extremely unsatisfactory. It is so utterly inconsistent with the Royal Proclamation, in which the world was told that the treaties with the States are inviolate and inviolable, after they had been similarly pronounced to be sacred and sacrosanct. But for the existence of the States there would have been no use of the words Paramount Power. I am making no secret about the feeling of uncertainty and insecurity in which the States have been plunged by the enunciation of a doctrine which empowers the Government of India to over-ride all treaties, engagements and sanads on the plea of Paramountcy. I would plead, with all the emphasis at my command, that this uncertainty should cease, and that all vagueness attaching to the conception of Paramountcy should give place to a clear formula which should be the outcome of a considered decision given by a competent and impartial tribunal. The Butler Report, the Simon Report, the Government of India Despatch have all failed to satisfy the parties concerned.

A contented India is, it is superfluous to say, an economic necessity. It is our keen desire to see that trade between England and India develops in volume and importance. A large number of my subjects and those of my neighbour, His Highness The Maharao of Kutch, reside in Bombay and carry on business in cloth. I know as a positive fact that their annual turnover goes

over 23 million sterling or 30 crores of rupees. It is not a small stake that these merchants of ours possess in the Bombay market. But both I and the Maharao of Kutch are helpless at the present moment. The policy of boycott, which, may I tell you, is gaining in strength as time goes by, hits them very hard, and it would be useless on our part to induce them to resume their trade relations with British merchants in the present circumstances, because it would be futile. An early settlement, therefore, of the Indian problem is of the utmost importance. If Manchester is prosperous again, a great deal of unemployment in the North would disappear.

So far as all those present at this Conference desire to remain within the British Empire as equal partners, in so far as we all are sincerely firm in our devotion to the King-Emperor, what is the obstacle in the way of conceding India's demand? At any rate what is to prevent a declaration of policy by His Majesty's Government at this late date? Such a declaration, with the association of several parliamentary Parties, will greatly facilitate the work of the Committees to be appointed. One thing is certain. If those who have come to this Conference go back to India without the Parliament of Britain making it clear that the minimum constitutional demands of India as a whole will be conceded, not only will this Conference have been held in vain, but I am much afraid that such a fiasco would strengthen beyond measure the extremist party in India. I therefore submit, in the interests of both countries, both of which I love, with all the emphasis at my command that the recognition of India's status within the Empire and her right to be mistress of her own affairs, as early as reasonably possible, should not be left in any doubt.

Sir Provash Chunder Mitter: I have been honoured by the landlords, representing the different Provinces and their important interests, to be their spokesman on this historic occasion. I have been charged with this duty by, amongst others, men like Nawab Sir Ahmad Said Khan of Chhitari from the United Provinces, the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga of Bihar and Orissa, and the Raja of Parlakimedi, Madras. They in their turn have varied experience and wide interests. I also represent the landlords of my own Province of Bengal, large and small, and that wider circle, including the landlords, who desire self-government for India as an integral part of the British Empire.

The discussions, to which we have hitherto listened, have, I think, made it abundantly clear that on the British Indian side, both amongst the Muslims and amongst the Hindus, there is a passionate desire for responsibility in the Centre. When leaders of experience, position and moderation, like Sir Muhammad Shafi on the Muslim side, and like my esteemed friend, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, on the Hindu, have asked for responsibility at the Centre, when Their Highnesses the Indian Princes have shown such sympathy with British Indian aspirations, one can easily draw the conclusion that the desire for such responsibility is almost universal. The landlords, Sir, are as keen as any other section of their countrymen on

the question of self-government, but being in a minority, they naturally desire a constitution which will ensure the protection of their interests along with those of the other minorities. They also desire that their class should have separate and adequate representation both in the Provinces and in the Centre. They would further point out that, in order to make responsible government a success, there must be justice to all classes and interests, including theirs. They feel, like others, the urgent need for the establishment of harmony and peace in the country; indeed, they feel it more than dwellers in urban areas. They realise that progress must depend on the maintenance of social equilibrium, and that the stable elements should have their place in the new constitution. They feel that no political arrangement in India has a chance of success which is not firmly rooted in the structure of Indian society.

The landlords, Sir, are naturally more intimately concerned with the rural areas, and with the interests and problems of such areas, and we know that more than 226 millions out of the 247 millions in British India live in rural areas. Self-government in India will not be worthy of the name unless adequate and suitable—mark the word suitable—representation be given to rural areas and to the classes intimately concerned with those interests. Adequate provision should therefore be made not only for the suitable representation of rural areas, but also for improving their present educational and economic conditions.

Now, Sir, we are repeatedly told that self-government in India is really a graft and not a growth. Is that so? In the urban areas, with 50 years of experience in municipal politics and later in council elections, with the keen desire of the educated classes to follow Western systems, is self-government not yet a growth in urban areas? But if you turn to the rural areas, if you approach the question of self-government in rural areas as an Indian problem, I venture to submit that you should look upon it in true perspective and then you will see that it is really a growth. When dynasties tumbled, when Empires faded, when legions thundered by, the village communities of India had their own self-government, and self-government under those conditions is much more difficult than self-government in the static state of society which you have in England or in many of the Western countries. But, mind you, in framing the constitution for the future self-government of India do not forget the kind of self-government to which our rural areas are accustomed. In course of time, in the course of another 40-50 years, given the chance, the rural areas will appreciate the ballot box and will be able to use the ballot box as efficiently as the urban areas.

There is another point which, speaking on behalf of rural interests and also on behalf of the landlords who are intimately concerned with rural interests, I desire to make and that is the inadequate provision which has hitherto been made for social services in rural areas. Even from the narrowest point of view the landlord cannot collect his rents unless his tenants are pros-

perous. In this connection I will refer to the Simon Commission's Report, and draw my conclusion from what is therein described. The average income of a native of these Isles is £100 a year. The average income of the Indian, according to the most optimistic estimate accepted by the Simon Commission, is Rs. 107 a year. According to a less optimistic estimate it is only Rs. 80. The British Delegations are familiar with the unemployment problem in this country. Comparing an annual average income of £100 a year in these Isles, what is £6 or £8 a year in the case of a native of India, in spite of the advantages of a tropical climate? And this figure represents the average income, including the income of rich and poor, and including the income of the urban areas. With your knowledge of the acuteness of the unemployment problem in your country on £100 a year, you should appreciate what human existence must be on an income of £6 or £8 a year.

But what is the good of stating all this unless you British and we Indians join our hands in uplifting 250,000,000 of our fellow beings? The three political Parties of this country can really give us a helping hand. In the limited time at my disposal I will not go into details, but, if the British Delegations will give me a chance, I venture to say that I shall be able to place before them a scheme by which your unemployment problem will be rapidly reduced and by which the problem of India—namely, the uplift of the rural masses—will be solved in a comparatively quick time.

Before I conclude I would like to refer to two important speeches—one by Lord Peel and the other by Lord Reading. I could follow the speech of Lord Peel; I could see the difficulties he pointed out; but, with the utmost respect—and perhaps he was carried away by his usual eloquence—I could not understand whether Lord Reading really wanted to give us self-government immediately. But I could see Lord Peel's attitude. His attitude was, "Yes, we may be prepared to meet you if you can remove certain difficulties; for instance, if you can set up a constitution which will ensure a stable state of society." There was one very important point raised by Lord Peel. He said that if we representatives of India, and the Princes of India, go back having attained our object, there is a very strong party in India which will wrest power from our hands. Let me assure Lord Peel that if the sentiments of the people be satisfied, there will be a large section of extremists who, like the suffragettes of your country, will be reconciled; but let me at the same time tell some of my Indian friends here that there will remain a section who may not and will not be reconciled. You may, the British and Indian Delegates, take that into account in framing the constitution, but if you give us a constitution such as we want the position will be infinitely better, if you concede to the sentiment of the people, with due safeguards.

One word more. I would like to ask you to realise what will be the position if you can freely affiliate India to you—a self-governing India. I make bold to say that if that ideal be attained world

peace is assured. Such affiliation will make Britain's position in the world pre-eminent, not only in the sphere of trade and commerce, but also as a most important and effective factor in maintaining world peace. The Great War has demonstrated the possibilities of India in men and money, assembled at short notice; but with a self-governing India, truly affiliated to England, the resources in men and materials which will be available to the British Commonwealth of Nations will be very much larger than the contribution of India during the World War. With this reserve strength, England, the head of that confederacy, will reach a position which no other power in the world would ever approach. Such a consummation may lead to the realization of a new world ideal. If that position is ever attained, perhaps the poet's dream may cease to be a dream and prove to be a reality. It may then mean a world where the war drum will throb no longer in the Parliament of Man and the Federation of the World. Is not that ideal worth striving for? Should we not, as citizens of a world where, through God's grace, I firmly believe, an increasing purpose runs, strive for such an ideal?

Dr. Ambedkar: Mr. Chairman: My purpose in rising to address this Conference, is principally to place before it the point of view of the depressed classes, whom I and my colleague, Rao Bahadur Srinivasan, have the honour to represent, regarding the question of constitutional reform. It is a point of view of 43,000,000 people, or one-fifth of the total population of British India. The depressed classes form a group by themselves which is distinct and separate from the Muhammadans, and, although they are included among the Hindus, they in no sense form an integral part of that community. Not only have they a separate existence, but they have also assigned to them a status which is invidiously distinct from the status occupied by any other community in India. There are communities in India which occupy a lower and a subordinate position; but the position assigned to the depressed classes is totally different. It is one which is midway between that of the serf and the slave, and which may, for convenience, be called servile—with this difference, that the serf and the slave were permitted to have physical contact, from which the depressed classes are debarred. What is worse is that this enforced servility and bar to human intercourse, due to their untouchability, involves not merely the possibility of discrimination in public life, but actually works out as a positive denial of all equality of opportunity and the denial of those most elementary of civic rights on which all human existence depends. I am sure that the point of view of such a community, as large as the population of England or of France, and so heavily handicapped in the struggle for existence, cannot but have some bearing on the right sort of solution of the political problem, and I am anxious that this Conference should be placed in possession of that point of view at the very start.

That point of view I will try to put as briefly as I can. It is this: that the bureaucratic form of government in India should be.

replaced by a government which will be a government of the people by the people and for the people. This statement of the view of the depressed classes I am sure will be received with some surprise in certain quarters. The tie that bound the depressed classes to the British has been of a unique character. The depressed classes welcomed the British as their deliverers from age-long tyranny and oppression by the orthodox Hindus. They fought their battles against the Hindus, the Mussalmans and the Sikhs, and won for them this great Empire of India. The British, on their side, assumed the role of trustees for the depressed classes. In view of such an intimate relationship between the parties, this change in the attitude of the depressed classes towards British Rule in India is undoubtedly a most momentous phenomenon. But the reasons for this change of attitude are not far to seek. We have not taken this decision simply because we wish to throw in our lot with the majority. Indeed, as you know, there is not much love lost between the majority and the particular minority I represent. Ours is an independent decision. We have judged of the existing administration solely in the light of our own circumstances and we have found it wanting in some of the most essential elements of a good government. When we compare our present position with the one which it was our lot to bear in Indian society of the pre-British days, we find that, instead of marching on, we are only marking time. Before the British, we were in the loathsome condition due to our untouchability. Has the British Government done anything to remove it? Before the British, we could not draw water from the village well. Has the British Government secured us the right to the well? Before the British, we could not enter the temple. Can we enter now? Before the British, we were denied entry into the Police Force. Does the British Government admit us in the Force? Before the British, we were not allowed to serve in the Military. Is that career now open to us? To none of these questions can we give an affirmative answer. That the British, who have held so large a sway over us for such a long time, have done some good we cheerfully acknowledge. But there is certainly no fundamental change in our position. Indeed, so far as we are concerned, the British Government has accepted the social arrangements as it found them, and has preserved them faithfully in the manner of the Chinese tailor who, when given an old coat as a pattern, produced with pride an exact replica, rents, patches and all. Our wrongs have remained as open sores and they have not been righted, although 150 years of British rule have rolled away.

We do not accuse the British of indifference or want of sympathy. What we do find is that they are quite incompetent to tackle our problem. If the case was one of indifference only it would have been a matter of small moment, and it would not have made such a profound change in our attitude. But what we have come to realise on a deeper analysis of the situation is that it is not merely a case of indifference, rather it is a case of sheer incompetence to undertake the task. The depressed classes find that the

British Government in India suffers from two very serious limitations. There is first of all an internal limitation which arises from the character, motives and interests of those who are in power, which prevents them from appreciating the living forces operating in our society, makes them indifferent and inimical to its aspirations, and apathetic to our education. It is not because they cannot help us in these things but because it is against their character, motives and interests to do so. The second consideration that limits its authority is the mortal fear it has of external resistance. The Government of India does realise the necessity of removing the social evils which are eating into the vitals of Indian society and which have blighted the lives of the downtrodden classes for so many years. The Government of India does realise that the landlords are squeezing the masses dry, and the capitalists are not giving the labourers a living wage and decent conditions of work. Yet it is a most painful thing that it has not dared to touch any of these evils. Why? Is it because it has no legal powers to remove them? No. The reason why it does not intervene is because it is afraid that its intervention to amend the existing code of social and economic life, will give rise to resistance. Of what good is such a Government to anybody? Under a Government, paralysed between two such limitations, much that goes to make life good must remain held up. We must have a Government in which the men in power will give their undivided allegiance to the best interest of the country. We must have a Government in which men in power, knowing where obedience will end and resistance will begin, will not be afraid to amend the social and economic code of life which the dictates of justice and expediency so urgently call for. This rôle the British Government will never be able to play. It is only a government which is of the people, for the people and by the people that will make this possible.

These are some of the questions raised by the depressed classes and the answers which in their view these questions seem to carry. This is therefore the inevitable conclusion which the depressed classes have come to : namely, that the bureaucratic Government of India, with the best of motives, will remain powerless to effect any change so far as our particular grievances are concerned. We feel that nobody can remove our grievances as well as we can, and we cannot remove them unless we get political power in our own hands. No share of this political power can evidently come to us so long as the British Government remains as it is. It is only in a Swaraj constitution that we stand any chance of getting the political power into our own hands, without which we cannot bring salvation to our people.

There is one thing, Sir, to which I wish to draw your particular attention. It is this. I have not used the expression Dominion Status in placing before you the point of view of the depressed classes. I have avoided using it, not because I do not understand its implications nor does the omission mean that the depressed classes object to India's attaining Dominion Status. My chief

ground for not using it is that it does not convey the full content of what the depressed classes stand for. The depressed classes, while they stand for Dominion Status with safeguards, wish to lay all the emphasis they can on one question and one question alone. And that question is, how will Dominion India function? Where will the centre of political power be? Who will have it? Will the depressed classes be heirs to it? These are the questions that form their chief concern. The depressed classes feel that they will get no shred of the political power unless the political machinery for the new constitution is of a special make. In the construction of that machine certain hard facts of Indian social life must not be lost sight of. It must be recognised that Indian society is a gradation of castes forming an ascending scale of reverence and a descending scale of contempt—a system which gives no scope for the growth of that sentiment of equality and fraternity so essential for a democratic form of government. It must also be recognised that while the intelligentsia is a very necessary and a very important part of Indian society, it is drawn from its upper strata and, although it speaks in the name of the country and leads the political movement, it has not shed the narrow particularism of the class from which it is drawn. In other words what the depressed classes wish to urge is that the political mechanism must take account of and must have a definite relation to the psychology of the society for which it is devised. Otherwise you are likely to produce a constitution which, however symmetrical, will be a truncated one and a total misfit to the society for which it is designed.

There is one point with which I should like to deal before I close this matter. We are often reminded that the problem of the depressed classes is a social problem and that its solution lies elsewhere than in politics. We take strong exception to this view. We hold that the problem of the depressed classes will never be solved unless they get political power in their own hands. If this is true, and I do not think that the contrary can be maintained, then the problem of the depressed classes is I submit eminently a political problem and must be treated as such. We know that political power is passing from the British into the hands of those who wield such tremendous economic, social and religious sway over our existence. We are willing that it may happen, though the idea of Swaraj recalls to the mind of many of us the tyrannies, oppressions and injustices practised upon us in the past and the fear of their recurrence under Swaraj. We are prepared to take the inevitable risk of the situation in the hope that we shall be installed, in adequate proportion, as the political sovereigns of the country along with our fellow countrymen. But we will consent to that on one condition and that is that the settlement of our problem is not left to time. I am afraid the depressed classes have waited too long for time to work its miracle. At every successive step taken by the British Government to widen the scope of representative government the depressed classes have been systematically left out. No thought has been given to their claim for political

power. I protest with all the emphasis I can that we will not stand this any longer. The settlement of our problem must be a part of the general political settlement and must not be left over to the shifting sands of the sympathy and goodwill of the rulers of the future. The reasons why the depressed classes insist upon it are obvious. Every one of us knows that the man in possession is more powerful than the man who is out of possession. Every one of us also knows that those in possession of power seldom abdicate in favour of those who are out of it. We cannot therefore hope for the effectuation of the settlement of our social problem, if we allow power to slip into the hands of those who stand to lose by settlement unless we are to have another revolution to dethrone those whom we to-day help to ascend the throne of power and prestige. We prefer being despised for too anxious apprehensions, than ruined by too confident a security, and I think it would be just and proper for us to insist that the best guarantee for the settlement of our problem is the adjustment of the political machine itself so as to give us a hold on it, and not the will of those who are contriving to be left in unfettered control of that machine.

What adjustments of the political machine the depressed classes want for their safety and protection I will place before the Conference at the proper time. All I will say at the present moment is that, although we want responsible government, we do not want a Government that will only mean a change of masters. Let the Legislature be fully and really representative if your Executive is going to be fully responsible.

I am sorry Mr. President I had to speak in such plain words. But I saw no help. The depressed classes have had no friend. The Government has all along used them only as an excuse for its continued existence. The Hindus claim them only to deny them or, better still, to appropriate, their rights. The Muhammedans refuse to recognize their separate existence, because they fear that their privileges may be curtailed by the admission of a rival. Depressed by the Government, suppressed by the Hindu and disregarded by the Muslim, we are left in a most intolerable position of utter helplessness to which I am sure there is no parallel and to which I was bound to call attention.

Regarding the other question which is set down for discussion I am sorry it was decided to tag it on to a general debate. Its importance deserved a Session for itself. No justice can be done to it in a passing reference. The subject is one in which the depressed classes are deeply concerned and they regard it as a very vital question. As members of a minority, we look to the Central Government to act as a powerful curb on the provincial majority to save the minorities from the misrule of the majority. As an Indian interested in the growth of Indian nationalism, I must make it plain that I am a strong believer in the unitary form of government and the thought of disturbing it I must confess does not please me very much. This unitary government has been the most potent influence in the building up of the Indian nation.

That process of unification which has been the result of a unified system of government has not been completed and I should be loathe to withdraw this most powerful stimulus in the formative period and before it has worked out its end. However, the question, in the form in which it is placed, is only an academic question and I shall be prepared to consider a federal form, if it can be shown that in it local autonomy is not inconsistent with central unity.

Sir, all that I, as a representative of the depressed classes, need say on their behalf I have said. May I crave your indulgence to permit me as an Indian to say a word or two generally on the situation which we have to meet. So much has been said regarding its gravity that I shall not venture to add a word more to it, although I am no silent spectator of the movement. What I am anxious about is to feel whether we are proceeding on right lines in evolving our solution. What that solution should be rests entirely upon the view that British Delegates choose to take. Addressing myself to them I will say, whether you will meet the situation by conciliation or by applying the iron heel must be a matter for your judgment—for the responsibility is entirely yours. To such of you as are partial to the use of force and believe that a régime of *Lettres de cachet* and the *Bastille* will ease the situation let me recall the memorable words of the greatest teacher of political philosophy, Edmund Burke. This is what he said to the British nation when it was faced with the problem of dealing with the American Colonies:—

“ The use of force alone is but temporary. It may endure for a moment, but it does not remove the necessity of subduing again: a nation is not governed which is perpetually to be conquered. The next objection to force is its uncertainty. Terror is not always the effect of force, and an armament is not a victory. If you do not succeed, you are without resource; for conciliation failing, force remains, but force failing, no further hope of reconciliation is left. Power and Authority are sometimes bought by kindness, but they can never be begged as alms by an impoverished and defeated violence. A further objection to force is, that you impair the object by your very endeavours to preserve it. The thing you fought for (to wit the loyalty of the people) is not the thing you recover, but depreciated, sunk, wasted and consumed in the contest.”

The worth and efficacy of this advice you all know. You did not listen to it and you lost the great continent of America. You followed it to the lasting good of yourself and the rest of the Dominions that are with you. To such of you as are willing to adopt a policy of conciliation I should like to say one thing. There seems to be prevalent an impression that the Delegates are called here to argue for and against a case for Dominion Status—and that the grant of Dominion Status will be dependent upon which side is the victor in this battle of wits. With due deference to all who are sharpening their wits, I submit that there can be no greater mistake than to make the formula of logic govern so.

live an issue. I have no quarrel with logic and logicians. But I warn them against the disaster that is loomed to follow, if they are not careful in the selection of the premises they choose to adopt for their deductions. It is all a matter of temper whether you will abide by the fall of your logic, or whether you will refute it, as Dr. Johnson did the paradoxes of Berkeley by trampling them under his foot. I am afraid it is not sufficiently realised that in the present temper of the country, no constitution will be workable which is not acceptable to the majority of the people. The time when you were to choose and India was to accept is gone, never to return. Let the consent of the people and not the accident of logic be the touchstone of your new constitution, if you desire that it should be worked.

Mr. Paul : Mr. Pannir Selvam and myself have the honour to represent here a community which numbers five million people. Among the minorities, ours is the next to the Muslims in number. It is a steadily growing community. It has special advantages of education and training which render it far more useful to the country than its numbers would indicate. A big proportion of the elementary education of the country is manned by its men and women: its extended participation in the secondary and collegiate education of the country brings it into valuable contact with the young manhood and womanhood of the whole country. In the essential national service of medical relief for women the pioneering and the steady progress of the service has been possible because of the personnel so readily available from our community. As for our rank and file, we are tillers of the soil, many more of us being labourers than owners of land. In all such ways we are the servants of our Motherland and shall always feel proud to be servants of our Motherland. Though our religion has come from outside, and we derive from it our deepest and most powerful direction for our private and public life and relationships, it should be realised that we have been in India for 1,700 years; that is, for over 700 years before the first Muslim arrivals in India. That section of our community, which is still the wealthiest and the most vigorous, has been in the Hindu kingdoms of Travancore and Cochin from the third century of the Christian era. The next great section was established in the Tamil Kingdoms of the south-east in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In all these seven-teen centuries, though it will not be right to say that there were no difficulties, in the main it is a fact that we have had freedom and protection under Hindu and Muslim Prince alike. Nor do we feel isolated in point of culture and tradition. We drink from the same founts of literature, art, and music, and, in fact, the most modern tendency of even our religious thought and expression is to relate them, in all loyalty to its great history and tradition, to the categories that are derived from what is characteristically Indian lore. And so with the deliberate advantages that we have of understanding the best in the mind and spirit of Britain, our community in general, and its youth in particular, are now in the

mid-currents of the nationalistic movement which is surging in the country. This was voiced in no uncertain terms in the resolutions of the All-India Christian Council, which met in Lucknow on the 11th of July. I shall quote one section of the second resolution:—

“It is our observation that India has in the last three months indicated in the clearest way and in substantial unanimity that her place in the British Commonwealth should be that of a Dominion, and that immediately. India has indicated this in the most arduous of ways, the way of suffering and self-sacrifice.”

The same Council went on to state its views on the Round Table Conference in these terms:

“Our All-India Conference which met in Lahore last December welcomed the proposal of a Round Table Conference. We still believe that the solution to the constitutional problems of India can be found only at a Conference at which the chief interests are adequately and acceptably represented. We do have the faith that H. E. Lord Irwin will recommend for participation in that Conference persons who are competent to express the views of the various important political parties and who are thoroughly acceptable to them. While we do welcome the Conference we wish to make certain points.”

I will quote only the first of these:

“The mind of India as regards the main issue has already been indicated through the way of suffering. This should, therefore, be laid down as the limiting scope of the Round Table Conference within which and around which all other problems, great and small, should be worked out. Now that the Viceroy has signified that he cannot give any pledge, the Round Table Conference itself should lay this down as the definition of its scope—should lay down Dominion constitution as the main basis on which all other problems of internal and external relationships and responsibilities, as, *e.g.*, of the Army, be worked out.”

I shall be asked what precisely is the attitude of my community as regards the protection of minorities. I am here to say that this was considered with the greatest care by the All-India Christian Council, which laid down its views which we shall place before the relevant Committees or sub-Committees of this Conference. At this time I may be permitted to read only one section of it:

“We are confident that our own community, especially the rising generation, is well aware of the fact that the place of a minority in a nation is its value to the whole nation and not merely unto itself. That value depends upon the quality of its life, the standard of its preparation for life's various activities, the strenuousness with which it throws itself into all avenues of useful services and the genuineness with which it seeks a common weal. We are well aware that in the peculiar social situation in India, even with all the values we have

indicated, there are, and will continue to be, unmerited hardships falling on individuals and groups. But we record our conviction that, while many of such hardships and disabilities will be met by such administrative devices as Public Service Commissions and by reservation in the Legislatures and Councils, the real solution is to be found in the positive and constructive methods of the community, straining every nerve to make itself qualified, efficient, useful, and even indispensable to the nation."

The attitude of our community is thus one of trust and confidence. We do not ignore the *fact* of the minorities problem. Situated, as we are, between two great and powerful communities, we are only too often conscious of the fact that we are just forgotten, sometimes to our serious and lasting injury. But we have every belief that this Conference will find no difficulty in laying down general standards of equitable treatment to all citizens without prejudice or favour. In the first place, we anticipate that in the new constitution of India there will be implemented articles setting forth such standards as were done in the new constitutions which arose at the Treaty of Versailles. In the second place, we anticipate that the Central Government will be made strong enough to oversee the effective maintenance of such standards in actual practice throughout the country in all the Provinces and States. In the third place, and as my final word, I wish to make one point. Our religious life brings us into intimate relations with the life of many nations of the West, and our community is in a peculiar position to appreciate the enormous importance of our country maintaining international relationships on as many lines as possible. We shall fail in our duty if we do not here and now emphasise, what indeed is no new idea to our national leaders, that our Motherland has everything to gain by every tie she makes with other nations, East and West. We would mention this specially at this time because it has a bearing on the structure of our constitution. We are aware and proud of the fact that India, even as a so-called "subject nation," is becoming more and more an influence, through her literature and philosophy, and what I may call her spirit, upon the life and thought and spirit of many nations in both hemispheres. And to-day, when the stigma of political subjection is to be removed from her fair brow, we are anxious that no mistake should be made to weaken her integrity as a united, indivisible entity, which has always stood for something distinctive in the world. In our eagerness to safeguard the autonomy of the units which shall make up the Indian Federation, we have also to safeguard with the greatest jealousy her integrity as a solid well-knit unity with a strong Central Government, which could speak to other nations on behalf of the whole of India, and, where necessary, even make undertakings on behalf of the whole of India in matters of economic, humanitarian, cultural and peace interests. We crave for our India a real place, not merely in the British Commonwealth, but also in the sisterhood of all nations, a place that is real and effective for the good of the entire world.

(The Lord Chancellor, Deputy President, in the Chair.)

Sir Abdul Qaiyum: Mr. Chairman, let me first of all thank the Prime Minister for having given me this early opportunity of speaking to the Conference. I do not know whether it was my extraordinary turban or my long moustaches which attracted his attention, or whether I was called upon because of a sense of justice that the depressed of the South, who had just spoken, should be followed by the depressed of the North. Whether the one or the other, I feel thankful to the Prime Minister. I was not one of those fortunate persons whose names were sent up earlier, and I did not know whether I should ever get an opportunity of speaking to this Conference. I was ignored by all the different sections of the Delegation when they proposed the names of their respective speakers.

Well Sir, when a man of the position of the Prime Minister excuses himself for his awkward Scotch accent, I must excuse myself for my bad English and bad pronunciation, as my English education has been very limited and I have not come into contact with English speaking people very much.

Sir, it is not a speech that I am going to make to this Conference. I cannot make good speeches and impress my points on people by the force of good language and oratory, but I trust you will follow the spirit behind the words. It is an appeal that I am going to make to the Conference—to you, Sir, as the head of the Government, to the British Delegates as representing the various Parties in Parliament, and to my brother Delegates from India, including the Princes. It is an appeal, Sir, from one who has devoted the whole of his life to the service of the Empire, whose services have been appreciated in various ways both by Government and by the public. It is not the word of an agitator or a discontented man, it is the word of a man who has been brought up under the present régime, and who owes a good many obligations both to the present Government of the country and the Empire. Sir, my appeal is on behalf of the people of the North-West Frontier Province, a people who have rendered meritorious service to the Empire, who are the gate-keepers, in one sense, of the Indian Empire, who have served that Empire zealously and have proved their loyalty to the Empire and to the country in numerous ways; people who have fought on numerous occasions against their neighbours—who happen to be their own kinsmen in blood—and who have rendered conspicuous services in the recent world-wide war. If you take the percentage of recruitment of the Indian Army during the war, you will find that the North-West Frontier Province stands first throughout India. It is on behalf of that Province, those unfortunate people, that I am going to make this appeal to this Conference and to humanity at large. I do not think it is necessary for me to appeal to my brother Delegates from India, because they fully know the situation. They are thoroughly acquainted with our sentiments and aspirations and with our services, and as I see during the Sessions of this Conference that they are condemning untouchability

and are trying to do away with the depressed classes and are giving them full liberty of self-determination throughout India, I find it unnecessary to appeal to them. I hope they are prepared to grant us equal rights. It is to you, Sir, who appear to be inclined to create untouchability in the twentieth century by out-casting a people, or rather stamping a people as depressed, as inferior, as not entitled to the ordinary citizens' rights in India, it is to you, Sir, that my appeal is chiefly addressed just now. I hope, Sir, that my appeal will not fall on deaf ears. It is a deep feeling that prompts me to speak in such terms as this, but as some of those who have spoken before me have been frank and sincere in their expressions, I hope that I shall not be accused of undue bluntness, if I speak frankly and honestly on this occasion.

(At this point the Prime Minister resumed the Chair.)

Sir, the question before the Conference is, how to satisfy the aspirations of India with respect to her constitutional advancement. Well, I do not think that I am competent to speak on that question, because so far I am outside of a constitution for India. As such I do not feel bound by the regulations of this Conference, and I hope that the rule of ten minutes will not apply to me either. I understand that the trend of opinion in this Conference is towards a federation system. To my mind that is the only way in which India can make progress and be united. But my personal difficulty is, how am I to be fitted in in that Federation? Am I to have equal rights with the rest of India as a unit of British India or of the whole of India, or am I to be kept in the background and ruled in the present despotic way, or remain under a perpetual domination as we may call it? That is my point. I hope I am not going to be treated in any way as an inferior unit in the Federation. I claim equal rights, and I assure the Conference that nothing short of equal rights will satisfy us. That desire has been demonstrated in many ways by our people. We have been clamouring for it during the last ten years, ever since our separation from the Punjab, and we cannot tolerate this stigma of inferiority any longer. When I see that I am in no way inferior to the rest of India in intelligence, in education, in culture or in any other way, I look upon it as a great hardship and sheer injustice when I am told, "You are not going to have equal rights." Numerous excuses have been brought forward by interested people proving my inferiority, but so far not a single argument has convinced me, or will convince any other honest man. When other people are claiming Dominion Status with their caste systems, with their depressed classes, with their untouchability, and with a thousand other difficulties in their way, am I not justified in claiming only a simple equal citizen's right for myself? I have no untouchability in my Province. I have no caste system in my Province. I am a very homogeneous community. There are others who are clamouring for protection, for safeguards for minorities and other things. We have no such difficulty. We are prepared

to satisfy our minorities. We are not so selfish as to refuse them safeguards. We are not so selfish as not to satisfy them. We are prepared to give them every assurance, and, if necessary, safeguards, which will satisfy them. Sir, I do not base my claim on communalism, or policy, or on matters of that sort. These are not the bases of my claim. My claim is simply based on human rights—on rights of equal citizenship, and nothing more. I will not go into the details of my fitness for equal partnership, because I may possibly find an opportunity to express my views more fully on the subject or to offer myself for cross-examination in the Committees; but if I am as unfortunate as I have been in the past, except, of course, when I attracted your attention somehow or another this morning, I may not even get the opportunity of going before a Committee and explaining my views. However, my time is very limited and I cannot go into details of my case.

As I have said before, I feel myself quite fitted intellectually, economically, physically, and in every way for constitutional advance like any other Indian, but there may be some matter of policy behind it. As an old servant of the Crown and of the Indian Empire, I have been associated with trans-border politics the whole of my life. I have served on Border Commissions and Committees on the Frontier and in various other ways. With all this experience behind me, I cannot see any insurmountable difficulty in the way of my progress. I was separated from the Punjab where, for 50 years, I was in the exercise of full-fledged rights of citizenship. Nobody said a word about my unfitness. As a matter of fact, I was fitter in my part of the then Punjab than many other parts of the Punjab were. That can be proved by reference to your official records and books. It cannot be denied in the face of the record of our services in the Punjab in various capacities. But the evil day came when we were separated. It was our destiny; it was the hand of God. We deplore that day. We were told that, as a small unit directly connected with the Centre and under the very eye of the Viceroy, we should advance by leaps and bounds. That was why we did not protest against the suggestion. But what do we find now? We are going backward while other people are going forward. We have lost two chances, and now the last chance is going to be lost to us. If you put us one step backwards to-day, we are doomed for ever; we shall never be able to make up the loss, or, in a layman's language, pass two classes in one year and get into the higher class and join our old class-fellows the Punjabis. You may talk about difficulties, and, as an old official, I can guess of these difficulties, but I am prepared to discuss them with you, if you will take me into your confidence. If these difficulties, if any, are not overcome, and I am to be placed a step lower, how am I to get over my difficulty of equal advance? Are you going to give me some additional help and advantages and facilities to make up the loss? Are you going to provide me with extra funds and opportunities to make up the loss? Or are you going to keep me in this state of bondage and depression perpetually? That is the idea, or fear, which has been puzzling and occupying the minds of most of

our people. Hope deferred maketh the heart sick. They have waited too long for the realization of their hopes.

In 1922 we were considered to be quite fit for advance in every respect, and it was merely a question of whether the five districts should be re-amalgamated with the Punjab, or kept as a separate unit. I was the first witness to go before the Bray Committee, which was appointed to inquire into the matter, and I said that if we could have full-fledged reforms as a separate unit, we should prefer it, but that otherwise we should rather like to go back to the Punjab. If, in 1923, we could be entrusted with an elected majority in the proportion of two-thirds, you will not be surprised to learn that we thought it a very retrograde move when we read in the Simon Report that we were not to have any elected majority at all, and that the elected element was to be chosen by people who were themselves chiefly nominated; that is to say, people who were themselves nominated were to elect others. I do not want to worry you with these details, but I assure you we are going backward in every respect and that we are consequently very depressed.

We have had a statesman in our part of the country, and I am glad to say he remained with us for a fairly long time; but unfortunately it was during the Great War, and he could not do more for us. He put us on the right lines; he established a first-class college, and gave us education, and if you refer to your official records you will find that his idea was to make that small unit of ours a model Province, educationally, socially, economically, technically and so on. I refer to Sir George Roos-Keppel. Unfortunately his name is not well-known outside my Province or it would have been greeted with more applause.

After that, difficulties have arisen and we have practically started going backwards. If any increase of taxation is passed at the Centre, the law is at once applied to our corner of India, but if it is a question of any reform it is said we are not fit for it. You were not afraid to apply the Child Marriage Act to the North-West Frontier Province, though we did not require it and had no need for it, but you are afraid of applying the Government of India Act to our Province. You are not afraid of applying an abnoxious measure or taxation liabilities to the Frontier, but when it is a question of electing men to deal with the mending of a few roads, the establishment of a few schools, or even a hospital, you say, "It is a great responsibility, and we cannot entrust you with it." When all your able lawyers and judges have failed to trace the guilt or innocence of a person, you refer the matter to us and you allow us to pass a verdict, and, on our passing a verdict of guilty, you sentence the man to 14 years imprisonment; but you will not entrust the mending of a road to us.

Sir, I see that it is not a sin to speak of one's self in this Conference, so I should like to say that I am a person who owns land on both sides of the border, in tribal territory as well as in British territory. I protect myself across the border, and am under the protection of the police inside the border. If I can manage my

affairs over there, and my tenants, including several families of non-Muslims, under my protection here, why cannot you entrust the small non-Muslim population in the settled districts of the North-West Frontier Province to us and be sure of our sense of justice. What is your fear? Do you think we shall pass laws which will be objectionable to the minorities? Do you think we shall pass a law that the "chotis" of non-Muslims should be cut off? God forbid that we should think of these things. What, then are you afraid of? Are you afraid that if the Council is set up and a raiding party comes, you will not be able to send out your frontier militia and constabulary to intercept it, but will have to wait until the Council has met and has allowed you to intercept them or prevented you from doing so? I cannot understand what is at the bottom of all this fear and distrust. If you fear trouble from our tribesmen across the border, go and take them over. You can disarm them and crush them by spending crores of rupees over it, but when the time comes, you will find them claiming the same rights of equality as my friend Dr. Moonje claimed the other day.

It is no use saying that this is the difficulty or that is the difficulty; as I have said, I do not think there is any insurmountable difficulty. There may have been some idea in the mind of the Viceroy who separated us from the Punjab, but God alone knows what that idea was! Perhaps it was of the building of a Central Asian Empire, or perhaps it was the fear of an attack from Russia. Both those fears have disappeared now. There is no longer any fear of an invasion by Russia, nor can any Central Asian Empire be created now, for a free Afghanistan would not allow it; but there is a great danger of the discontent on the frontier assuming the form of a local Bolshevism.

Well, Sir. I shall offer myself for cross-examination to any Committee that may be set up to discuss these questions, and I hope I shall be able to prove that there are no insurmountable difficulties. To be brief, Sir, I simply claim equal rights. I cannot indulge in threats, like some other people, because I know it is futile and useless to attempt that against the mighty British Empire. I know it is not possible for a few disobedient non-co-operators to upset things. I do not believe in civil disobedience and cannot advocate that. I whole-heartedly support the respect of law and the preservation of order. Mine is only an earnest appeal to the sense of justice of the Delegates present here, but I cannot end my appeal without quoting a little proverb in my mother tongue, which says that even a flea in your trouser can make you very uncomfortable.

Mr. Jinnah : Mr. President, to use your own words I can assure you that we are here to co-operate, animated by a determination to succeed.

The first point that I should like to deal with is the point with regard to the moral claims of Great Britain on the one side and the sins of commission and omission by Great Britain on the other.

I tell you, Sir, this, that I am one of those who believe that no useful purpose will be served by going into that question. Let that question, may I say to those who indulge in it on both sides, be decided by the historians. For my purpose it is enough that Great Britain is in India. I have no hesitation in conceding this proposition—that you have a great interest in India, both commercial and political, and therefore you are a party, if I may say so, gravely interested in the future constitution of India. But when I have said that, I want you equally to concede frankly—and frankness does not mean wounding anybody's feelings, nor that we are influenced by bitterness; it means, as I understand, particularly in a Conference like this, that we should put our point of view frankly and respectfully and without wounding anybody's feelings, and therefore I shall avoid any kind of bitterness. When I have said this, I want you equally to concede that we have a greater and far more vital interest than you have, because you have the financial or commercial interest and the political interest, but to us it is all in all.

Now, in that spirit, you sitting on that side of the Conference and we sitting on this side, let us approach every question. I almost said that really there are four parties, not forgetting the other smaller minorities, such as the Sikhs and the Christians, and not forgetting for a single moment the depressed classes. But there are four main parties sitting round the table now. There are the British party, the Indian Princes, the Hindus and the Muslims.

Let us, Sir, consider what is the issue with which we are engaged. Before I come to that issue I want to dispel one thing. There is a certain amount of misunderstanding, or want of understanding. I want you to understand particularly on account of the observations of Lord Peel. Lord Peel said that his Party was gravely disturbed by the non-co-operation movement. Having emphasised that, he concluded by saying that if we came to any agreement and gave you a great advance in the constitution of India, it would be taken advantage of by those who would like to wreck it. Now, Sir, let us understand the position in India. The position in India is this, and let me tell you here again, without mincing any words, that there is no section, whether they are Hindus or Muhammadans or whether they are Sikhs or Christians or Parsis or depressed classes, or even commercial classes, merchants or traders, there is not one section in India that has not emphatically declared that India must have a full measure of self-government. When you say that a large, a very influential, party in India stands for wrecking or misusing the future constitution, I ask you this question. Do you want those parties who have checked, held in abeyance the party that stands for complete independence, do you want those people to go back with this answer from you,—that nothing can be done because there is a strong party which will misuse or wreck the constitution which we will get from you? Is that the answer you want to give? Now let me tell you the tremendous fallacy of that

argument and the grave danger. Seventy millions of Mussalmans—all, barring a few individuals here and there—have kept aloof from the non-co-operation movement. Thirty-five or forty millions of depressed classes have set their face against the non-co-operation movement. Sikhs and Christians have not joined it. And let me tell you that even amongst that party which you characterise as a large party—and I admit that it is an important party—it has not got the support of the bulk of Hindus. Do you want every one of the parties who have still maintained that their proper place is to go to this Conference, and across the Table to negotiate and come to a settlement which will satisfy the aspirations of India, to go back and join the rest? Is that what you want? Because what other position will they occupy? What will be the answer? I want you to consider the gravity of it, a gravity which was emphasised by previous speakers. You may, of course, argue it as long as you like.

Now let us understand the character and the function of this Conference. Speaking on behalf of the British India Delegation, I do not want to indulge in generalities, but I want to put before you the cardinal principle by which we shall be guided in the further proceedings of this Conference. I must admit that, while I am stating this cardinal principle, we must have regard to facts and to realities,—and that is why we are here, to hammer out those facts and those realities and to hammer out a constitution for India which will satisfy the people of India. That cardinal principle which shall be the guide as far as we are concerned is this, that—if I call it Dominion Status I know that Lord Reading will put a poser as to what is the meaning of Dominion Status; I know if I use the words “responsible government” somebody else will put me a poser, “What do you mean by responsible government?”; I know if I use the expression “full self-government” somebody else will ask me a similar question; but I say the cardinal principle which will guide us throughout the deliberations of this Conference is that India wants to be mistress in her own house; and I cannot conceive of any constitution that you may frame which will not transfer responsibility in the Central Government to a Cabinet responsible to the Legislature. If that is the cardinal principle by which we shall be guided, then, as Lord Reading very rightly pointed out, there may be questions, such as defence and foreign policy and so on, which will require adjustments. I do not think there is any secret on that point so far as the British India Delegation is concerned. Whoever has used the phrase Dominion Status so far as this Table is concerned has always said, “with safeguards during the transitional period.” Sir, that is going to be our cardinal principle.

To sum up the substance of the speeches of Lord Peel and Lord Reading, the only point that emerged was the difference with regard to the pace. I will only say one thing before I proceed a little further, and it is this, that self-government is not an abstract thing;

it is a business proposition, and if the power of the Government is transferred to a Cabinet responsible to the Legislature, the first and foremost thing that we have to provide is that the various interests are safeguarded, and you cannot possibly frame any constitution, unless you have provided safeguards for the rights and the interests which exist in India. First, there is the minority question, which we shall have to tackle, and unless you create that sense of security among the minorities, which will secure a willing co-operation and allegiance to the State, no constitution that you may frame will work successfully. Very rightly the Indian Princes are here, and you cannot very well frame a constitution for India, for self-government in the sense in which I have described it, without taking into consideration their position; and all that the Princes are anxious about is that they want certain safeguards in that constitution, as the Mussalmans demand safeguards for their community.

The next point, Sir, that I want to make is this. It was said by Lord Peel that there was the journey and the journey's end, as he read from the speech of Lord Irwin. May I point out to him that, in that very speech, this is what Lord Irwin said, which Lord Peel omitted:

"Although it is true that in our external relations with other parts of the Empire India exhibits already several of the attributes of self-governing Dominions, it is also true that Indian political opinion is not at present disposed to attach full value to these attributes of status, for the reason that their practical exercise is for the most part subject to the control or concurrence of His Majesty's Government. The demand for Dominion Status that is now made on behalf of India is based upon the general claim to be free from control, more especially in those spheres that are regarded as of predominantly domestic interest; and here, as is generally recognised, there are real difficulties, internal to India and peculiar to her circumstances and to world conditions, that have to be faced, and in regard to which there may be sharp variation of opinion both in India and in Great Britain. The existence of these difficulties cannot be seriously disputed, and the whole object of the Conference now proposed is to afford the opportunity to His Majesty's Government of examining, in free consultation with Indian leaders, how they may best, most rapidly and most surely be surmounted."

One more word I will say with regard to the pace. You, Sir, speaking two years ago at a meeting, said this, presiding at the British Labour Conference in London in 1928:

"I hope that within a period of months, rather than years, there will be a new Dominion added to the Commonwealth of our nations, a Dominion of another race, a Dominion that will find self-respect as an equal within the Commonwealth—I refer to India."

And yet, Sir, the crux of the two speeches of Lord Peel and of Lord Reading is that our differences are still with regard to the pace. Since 1928 two years have passed.

There is one more thing that I want to say. It is this. I think we have lost sight of the announcement and declaration of October 31st, 1929, which has created us. From that announcement I will read one passage:

"The Chairman of the Commission has pointed out, in correspondence with the Prime Minister which, I understand, is being published in England, that, as their investigation has proceeded, he and his colleagues have been greatly impressed, in considering the directions which the future constitutional development of India is likely to take, with the importance of bearing in mind the relations which may at some future time develop between British India and the Indian States. In their judgment it is essential that the methods by which this future relationship between these two constituent parts of Greater India can be adjusted should be fully examined. He has further expressed the opinion that if the Commission's Report and the proposals subsequently to be framed by the Government take this wider range, it will appear necessary for the Government to revise the scheme of procedure as at present proposed."

Therefore, Sir, when Lord Peel says that some of the recommendations of the Simon Commission are revolutionary, the Chairman of that Commission himself suggests that, in the light of the inclusion of the Indian Princes, you have not only radically changed the procedure, but the whole aspect of the position is changed altogether. Sir, let me tell you this in conclusion, that, so far as we are concerned the Simon Commission's Report is dead. The Government of India Despatch is already a back number, and there has arisen a new star in our midst to-day, and that is the Indian Princes. Their position has even placed the demand of British India for Dominion Status for the moment in the background, and we are now thinking of a Dominion of All India. Therefore it is no use your believing still in the Report of the Simon Commission or in the Despatch of the Government of India. I must say, in conclusion, that I am very much moved by, and that I welcome warmly, the noble attitude, the patriotic attitude, that the Indian Princes have shown.

There is only one other word I would like to say, because there might be some misapprehension. It was said by His Highness The Maharaja of Patiala and also by His Highness The Jam Sahib that "before we consider the question of All-India federation we must have our status determined and decided by a judicial tribunal." I could not quite appreciate the force of that statement, but may I say to my friends, the States Delegates, that whatever may be their position with regard to the orders that the Government of India may have passed under the present

constitution, that constitution is now in the melting pot, and they do not want anyone else to decide their status and rights. They are here to assert their status and rights. Whatever decisions this Conference may come to, and if there is an agreement, and if Parliament gives effect to it, it does not matter what has been laid down in the Butler Report or what has been laid down in the Secretariat of Simla or Delhi.

One more word about Parliament. It was said and emphasised by Lord Peel and by Lord Reading that Parliament must decide this question. We know that. We would not have been here if we did not expect Parliament finally to decide it. But remember, the original idea was that His Majesty's Government, in conference with the leaders of British India and of the Indian States, were to obtain the largest measure of agreement; and that if any such agreement was arrived at, they would put these proposals before Parliament. I am very glad, although I was opposed to the idea of the British Delegations being included—I tell you that frankly—because, as a business man, I thought it was better to negotiate with one than to negotiate with three. It is more difficult to get three to agree. Therefore I was opposed to it. Now you are here. Do not you represent Parliament—the three Parties? You do, and if you come to an agreement, are you afraid that Parliament will repudiate it? May I read here what Lord Irwin said about it when this question was raised:

“It would seem evident, however, that what all people most desire is a solution reached by mutual agreement between Great Britain and India, and that in the present circumstances friendly collaboration between Great Britain and India is a requisite and indispensable condition in order to obtain it. On the one side it is unprofitable to deny the right of Parliament to form its free and deliberate judgment on the problem, as it would be short sighted of Parliament to underrate the importance of trying to reach a solution which might carry the willing assent of political India.”

In this case now, as the Conference is constituted, it is not only possible to get the willing assent of India, but of the British Delegations who represent the three Parties in Parliament. It would be a very bold Parliament indeed that would dare repudiate any agreement that might be arrived at with the widest measure of support at this Table.

Mr. Sastri: Prime Minister, two ideas have emerged from the debates to which we have listened and which now dominate our minds. One is that of Dominion Status for India as the natural outcome of India's constitutional evolution; the other is that of federation as the proper form of the future polity of India, including both British India and the Indian States. This latter idea is comparatively new. We have struggled—Dominion Status for some time, and at last it seems to have acceptance from the spokesmen to whom we have listened

the Conservative and the Liberal Parties. The idea of federation, I must confess, is comparatively new to me. I struggled hard against it until the other day. Now I confess I am a convert. I have listened both in private and at this Table to the Princes and their spokesmen, and may I say, with all due respect to them, that they have brought me round to their view, both by the sincerity of their declarations as to Dominion Status and by the tone of restraint and moderation in which they have spoken of the terms of federation itself.

It only remains for me to say one word of caution. Great ideas thrown together into the arena of politics sometimes work together and co-operate with each other up to a certain stage, but may tend, when pushed each to its consummation, to collide and even to weaken each other. I do hope that in the deliberations of the Committees, to which we shall consign these great topics, nothing will be done on the side of those who care for federation more than for Dominion Status to weaken the latter, just as nothing should be done on the side of those who care for Dominion Status more than for federation to weaken federation.

Now, Prime Minister, may I address myself to another subject of the greatest importance. The idea of fear, which is in the minds of many British people when they contemplate a large advance in constitutional status, is that any polity that we may construct here, or that we may lay the foundation of, may pass, as respects its machinery, into the hands of those now belong to the Indian National Congress Party and who have brought about the serious situation which has led to the summoning of the Round Table Conference. I do not think that that fear is unreasonable. It is natural. I think we who speak for India are under an obligation to meet that fear in earnest and try to convince the British people that either the fears may be countered by cautionary measures, or that the fears have no foundation in fact. Much has been said by my friends who spoke on this side about the very large and considerable sections of the population whom Congress propaganda has not touched so far, who remain loyal to the British connection and who may be trusted, when there is serious danger, to stand by the British flag at all costs. May I add another source of comfort—and in saying this I shall, perhaps, strike a note out of the line of orthodox defence of politics. Prime Minister, who are these people from whom we fear disturbance? No doubt they have caused trouble so far. Are our measures here not designed to conciliate them? Are these not pacificatory steps that we are taking? Are they not calculated to win over once more their hearts to the ways of loyalty and ordered progress? Believe me, they are not hereditary criminals; they are not savage barbarian hordes; they are not the sworn enemies of Great Britain or of British institutions. They are men of culture, men of honour, most of them, men who have made their mark in the professions. They are our kinsmen both in spirit and by blood. It is a sense of political grievance that has placed them in this position, which we view with so much distrust and so much disapprobation. Remove

that discontent and you will find them alongside you, working the new constitution that we shall frame to its highest issues, and drawing from those new institutions that we frame all the benefit of which they are capable.

The toils and trials of public life are well-known to us all. I am on the side of law and order. I have never been within proximity of the gaol, but I am a political agitator. I know how near I am to those whose methods I join with you in condemning to-day. Often in my life has the Government viewed my activities with suspicion and set its spies upon me. My life has not been one of unalloyed happiness; my way has not been free from thorns—and Mr. Prime Minister, your experience is not altogether foreign to them. Let us not be carried away in this matter, then, too much by a sense of self-righteousness. Very little indeed divides those who now champion law and order and those who, impelled by the purest patriotism, have found themselves on the other side. Adopt measures born of conciliation; set the constitution of India in proper order; and we, whom this political difference has unhappily divided, will find ourselves once more co-operators for the welfare and contentment and ordered progress of India. Therein lies the strength of the situation to-day. Our enemies are not bad men; they are good men whom we have alienated by unfortunate political happenings. It is easy to bring them round. Let us make an honest attempt and, by God's grace, our work shall be rewarded both here and in India, and we shall find India once more not only happy within her borders but a contented partner in the British Commonwealth.

Sardar Sahibzada Sultan Ahmed Khan: After the many eloquent speeches to which we have listened during these three days, a very large amount of ground has been covered and it would be futile for me to go over the same ground again. There are a few considerations relating to the States to which I desire to draw attention in very simple words.

That the future Government of India, in which the States may participate, can only be federal, admits of no doubt, for in any arrangement that may be made for the future government of India the States will have, and rightly have, an adequate share and an effective voice. His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala yesterday did well in emphasising the great services the States have rendered to India as a whole, and that is a truth that cannot be emphasised too strongly and too often. There is one general misconception about the States which I should like to attempt to remove. It is generally thought by those, who have no inner knowledge of the conditions, that an Indian Prince is an arbitrary ruler. Nothing can be more removed from the truth. I speak not as an outside observer, but from an inner and a most intimate knowledge of facts. I have been serving the Gwalior State now for more than a quarter of a century, twenty years of which were spent in the closest of administrative association with the

late Maharaja, and, since his death, I have been a member of the Council of Regency. A very tender regard for the feelings and sentiments of all classes of the people, strict meting out of justice, uninfluenced in any way by caste, race or religious leanings or prejudices, these have been the cardinal and guiding principles of rule in Gwalior. The Maharaja lived a most simple life, indeed a frugal life, and worked harder than anyone else in the constant pursuit of the good of his people. His privy purse never exceeded three lacs of rupees a year, and every pie that was saved was earmarked strictly for some State purpose. Such a rule I would not designate as arbitrary. If I can coin an expression I would call it Democratic Autocracy. This might sound a contradiction in terms, but it has the essentials of Democracy, namely, that the supreme *lex* governing all actions of the Government is the sentiments and wishes of the people, and there is the added advantage of quick decision and action. I make bold to say that the States in India would not have lasted, as they have lasted, if they were not the true expressions of the sentiments and feelings of the people.

Now stepping out of the States boundary, we are confronted by a most formidable, complicated and intricate problem in British India. The solution of that problem requires all the calmness, sanity, understanding and sympathy that both the Indians and the English can bring to bear upon it. This can only be if we are fair and just to one another, recognising and sympathising with each other's point of view. A just and unbiased observer will find ample evidence that, despite defects and drawbacks, Englishmen have rendered great and enduring services to India. They have in many directions honestly and earnestly worked for the betterment of the country and its people. Even the Indian National Congress owes its birth to an Englishman, the late Mr. A. O. Hume, a member of the Indian Civil Service. Englishmen in every walk of life have assisted in its growth and development. The late Mr. Yule, a merchant prince of Calcutta, was once its President. So was Mr. Bradlaugh, a Member of Parliament, and Sir William Wedderburn, also a member of the Indian Civil Service. And I need hardly mention the lifelong and devoted service to the cause of Indian uplift of that great Englishwoman, Dr. Annie Besant, who, though over 82 years of age, is still giving her best to India. And it is the result of their great work in India that we are gathered together in this great and epoch-making Conference. It is no small tribute to the great work Englishmen have done in India and for India that there should be in India a practically universal demand for the establishment there of British institutions. On the other hand, I feel no doubt that Englishmen will be the last not to appreciate the desire of Indians for the direction and control of their own affairs. That desire is embedded in human nature. When God sent down manna to the remote ancestors of the human race, a universal prayer went up that they should be furnished with the means of obtaining their own sustenance, as a result of their own efforts. There is nothing to prevent Indians and Englishmen working together in harmony. This

statement I base upon my personal experience. At Gwalior, at one time, working in various departments under me, there were no less than ten Englishmen, and yet I found not the slightest difficulty in dealing with them, and they obeyed orders as any Indian subordinate did. I have Englishmen working under me to-day. An Englishman by his upbringing and training is a well-disciplined individual.

As regards India being made a Dominion, I think the question has two very distinct aspects. One is India having the status of a Dominion, and the other is India functioning as a full-fledged Dominion. Indians are a highly sensitive people; especially on matters of their *izzat* and honour they feel acutely. As they are situated to-day they cannot hold up their heads *vis-à-vis* the people of other countries; they feel a sense of inferiority which cannot but be humiliating. I cannot think that Englishmen, to whom matters of honour and self-respect are of supreme importance, will not sympathise with that sentiment. I think I am right in saying that there is no thinking Indian who believes that, to-day, India is in a position to shoulder the entire responsibility of a full-fledged Dominion; that position can only be reached by stages. Therefore, there is no foundation for the fear that, if India is declared to possess the status of a Dominion, an immediate demand for transferring to Indian shoulders the entire responsibility of government and defence will be made.

The declaration of India as a Dominion will serve a double purpose; it will satisfy the natural desire, nay, the intense craving of Indians to be reckoned as equal partners in the British Commonwealth of Nations, and it will be a sure earnest of the fulfilment of the promise that English desires India to be, in fulness of time, a full-fledged Dominion. I am not without hope that the Indians and English will labour whole-heartedly together for the happiness and prosperity of India. The happiness and prosperity of India mean greater happiness and prosperity for England.

Mr. Mody: In the 10 minutes' existence allowed to me I would have liked to confine myself to a few general observations on the place of commerce and industry in the India of to-morrow which we are met here to fashion; but the trend of the discussions in the last few days makes it impossible that I should remain altogether silent on the political issues that confront India and the Empire.

In the earlier stages of the discussion we heard a great deal of the value of conservatism as a force in the affairs of men. While I admire the courage of those who expounded that ideal. I am afraid I was irresistibly reminded of a schoolboy howler which said that another name for conservatives was preservatives!

Sir, this Conference will fail, and fail miserably, if it does not fix its gaze steadfastly on the goal in view, and if it does not stoutly refuse to be obsessed with the dangers and the difficulties on the way, many of them imaginary.

Lord Reading, in the remarks which he made before the Conference to-day, talked of the goal and the pace. If the goal is one, I hope, Sir, it will not be a measured pace but a rapid race towards that goal. The fundamental conception of this Conference should be not what can be safely conceded to India, but what can be safely denied to India. That should be the fundamental basis. The choice before England to-day is either to take India into the Commonwealth of the Empire as a free and willing partner, or to drive her more and more to courses of desperation and disorder.

In the process, Sir, you would lose the friendship and goodwill of those powerful classes—they may not be powerful in numbers to-day, but they are powerful for everything else which counts in the life of a nation—which are friendly to you to-day. It may be that we who represent those classes, have not at the moment the ear of our countrymen, but we shall have it to-morrow, and at any rate, we represent classes which are on the side of ordered government in all countries, and which are the strongest supporters of constitutional progress.

Now, Sir, I want to say a few words about the interests which I represent at this Conference, and I would begin by saying that commerce and industry are the life-blood of a nation. Political freedom is not going to mean anything to us, unless we have economic freedom, which will enable us to regulate our economic and industrial development on lines which we regard as most conducive to our interests.

I have a great admiration for Lord Irwin, as has everyone else who has come in contact with him and has had an opportunity of judging how really big a man he is; and I have respect for the men who are associated with him in the government of the country. But it would be idle to pretend that the economic policy of India to-day has always been directed in the best interests of India, or that it is in accord with the wishes of the people.

Lord Peel ventured on a eulogy of British rule, and I am entirely with him when he talks of the achievements of the British race in India. Everyone of us here knows that those achievements have been great, but it will not be disputed that if the achievements have been great, the gains have been great; and let it not be forgotten that there have been many dark pages on which are written innumerable instances of the way in which the industries and commerce of India have been woefully neglected or deliberately sacrificed.

Lord Peel did not think that even the mild observations of my friend, Mr. Jayakar, in regard to monopolies should be allowed to go unchallenged. I am afraid it would be impossible for me to attempt a reply to that statement here, but I would be prepared to take up the challenge in any other place. I will only content myself to-day with saying that Lord Peel has entirely misread the history of the economic progress of India in the last fifty years. Considering the handicaps to trade and industry all these years, though there has been a welcome change of policy in recent times,

the surprise is not that India has achieved so little, but that she has achieved anything at all. And when Lord Peel talks of efficiency and enterprise he will concede that it is only by the exercise of those very virtues, namely, of energy, enterprise and efficiency, that India has been able to make the progress she has made in the last fifty years. My friend, Mr. Jinnah, a few minutes ago stated that the commercial classes were ranged with the other interests in demanding a constitution akin to that of the Dominions for India. I would just like to amplify his remarks. The present movement is the work of one man. That man's word is law in the Province from where I come: large masses of people blindly follow his lead. Why is that so? It is because, and I say it without rancour or offence, the commercial classes, which form the most important section in my Province, have come to the conclusion that unless India is politically free she cannot be economically healthy, and she cannot build up her trade and industries as she would want to. That conviction is at the root of the movement which we all deplore, and which largely derives its sustenance from the commercial classes.

Much has been said to India's economic position, but the bare fact is that, after a century of civilised and progressive rule, India finds herself hopelessly poor and singularly ill-equipped to withstand the competition of more highly organised countries. I do not know, Sir, how you will relish being quoted in this connection, but the position could not have been more pithily or effectively put than when you once stated that the poverty of India was not an opinion, it was a fact. And it could not well be otherwise when as much as seventy per cent. of the population is dependent on agriculture, with a poor soil and a capricious monsoon. So long as this state of things continues and industries do not absorb some of the millions who press upon the land, India's position in the world will continue to be weak. That brings me back to my point, that political freedom without economic freedom may mean a snare and a delusion, for India may not be able to work a modern system of government, with all the burdens it entails, unless she is able to build up a vigorous industrial system. Fiscal and financial autonomy are from that point of view essential to her, if she is to occupy an honoured place in the British Commonwealth.

Mr. Fazl-ul-Haq: In the ceaseless flow of oratory which you have permitted, and which even the ten-minutes rule does not seem able to restrict or restrain, there is just a chance of the real issues being completely swept away and of getting out of sight altogether. It seems necessary, therefore, that someone should, at the close of this debate, try to emphasise the task before us. That India wants a full measure of self-government, the fullest that can be accorded her, is beyond controversy. It requires no amount of oratory to convince anyone in this Conference that that is at present the immediate practical demand of united India. There are, however, difficulties in the way, and the real problem is how to give India the fullest measure of responsible government consistent with the

difficulties of the position and the responsibilities of the British nation. That being the simple problem, I submit that no amount of oratory, however loftily conceived, will afford a real solution unless the Delegates assembled at this Conference themselves, by means of negotiations, come to some sort of concession of each others' rights, and present to this Conference an agreed constitution for the government of India. I ask my fellow Delegates to remember that there are before us one of two alternatives: either we will come to some agreement and present a united front, or we will leave it to the British people themselves to prepare for us a constitution for the future government of India. What the Delegates have to consider is this, that there are considerable objections to the latter point of view. If the constitution is framed by the British people it will be framed with some obvious disadvantages. In the first place, we will be facing the hostility of the British nation, if, after sitting a few months here and discussing the question for the future constitution for India, we profess our inability to come to some agreement, and tell them that we are leaving the question in their own hands to decide. Secondly, it will be unsuitable to the Indian people because anything coming from British brains or statesmanship would be unacceptable to various classes, especially the politically-minded people of India. Thirdly, I would refer to the colossal ignorance about India which generally prevails among political leaders in this country. Only the other day, Commander Kenworthy, a Member of Parliament and a very prominent member of the Labour Party, who had been to India and who set himself to say something about the complexities of the Indian problem, contributed an article to the *Review of Reviews* under the heading of "British Policy in India," and there he says:

"The communal (or religious) differences in India present perhaps the most serious problem of all. It is a fact, admitted to me personally, and regretted, by such great leaders as Gandhi and Malaviya on the Hindu side, and Jinnah and Moonje on the Muslim side, that if anything, the communal differences have become worse in recent years."

I ask the Delegates to consider whether they are not going to make a strenuous effort to settle and compose their differences and come to some settlement, or are they going to leave it to Commander Kenworthy and his colleagues to frame the Indian constitution?

It is to the interest of us all and of the present Party in power to frame a Constitution for the future government of India. The Muhammadan position has been explained by Sir Muhammad Shafi and Mr. Jinnah, and we should compose our differences and come to some agreement which will represent the progressive ideals of our land. The Mussalman is perfectly clear. The moment we are convinced that in the future constitution of India, not merely Mussalmans but all minorities, Indian Christians, Sikhs, Parsis, "untouchables," the commercial interests and credit interests, will

be safe and secure, that all the various interests will have the fullest measure of self-determination and self-advancement, we shall not only register our consent, but we shall go much further than the most enthusiastic member of the Indian National Congress in demanding the fullest measure of responsible government for India.

But, Sir, if that is the position, consider for a moment the meaning and the nature of what are suggested as safeguards. I purposely do not wish to use the word "safeguard." It is not a very dignified term. What is really meant is this, that in a democracy the government of the people by the people must be the government of the people by all the people, not the government of the people by only a section of the people. I wish to read out to this House two or three sentences from the words of John Stuart Mill in his well-known book on Representative Government. That great authority says:

"That the minority must yield to the majority, the smaller number to the greater, is a familiar idea, and accordingly men think that there is no necessity for using their minds any further, and it does not occur to them that there is a medium between allowing the smaller number to become equally powerful with the greater and blotting out the smaller number altogether. The majority of electors would always have a majority of representatives, and a minority of the electors would always have a minority of representatives, but man for man they should be as fully represented as the majority. Unless they are, there is no equal government, but a government of inequality and privilege, one part of the people rule over the rest and there is a part whose equal share of influence in the representation is withheld from them, contrary to all just government, but above all, contrary to the principle of democracy, which professes equality as its very root and foundation."

I am reading these few lines to this Conference because I want to commend them to those brother Delegates of mine who are to form the Committee which is going to be proposed. I submit to this Conference that the present moment is one of the most opportune for settling all those differences which have disgraced the fair name of India. We have in India a Viceroy the very mention of whose name evokes the most enthusiastic gratitude from our people. We have in power a Party in England who are pledged to democracy and to break down all the barriers of inequality between man and man. We have a genuine atmosphere of sympathy, of tolerance and of good will pervading England, which has induced the other political Parties to co-operate with the Party in power in evolving a system of administration which should be acceptable to all. Above all, we see present here a galaxy of Indian Princes who have come down from their high pedestal to brush shoulders with commoners in trying to find a solution for the future government of India. If, in these circumstances, we cannot

come to some sort of a settlement, it is much better that, as honest men, we should come forward and say that, although we very much desire self-government, India is not fit for self-government, because Indians, however much they may claim the art of statesmanship, have yet to learn the very rudimentary lesson that true patriotism must transcend all communal and sectarian considerations. Sir, if we fail we fail most ignobly. Great Britain has offered us the best of opportunities and it is for us to rise to the height of the occasion and to make the most of the opportunities that have been offered to us.

Before I sit down, to my countrymen who constitute the majority community I wish to make a fervent appeal. I wish to tell them that they must take due note of the awakening of feeling amongst the Muhammadans of India, and just as they have ventured to warn Englishmen against the danger of ignoring the political upheaval in India, I also warn them against any disregard of the fervour in the Muslim community. It would be surprising if the Muslims had been unaffected by the impulse of the political aspirations which are finding expression throughout India. How could the Mussalmans have remained impervious to such influences? The blood of the slave does not run in our veins. Until recently the Mussalmans held the sceptre of sovereignty in India, and, along with their fellow men in other lands, the seventy million Mussalmans in India have traditions of sovereignty and conquest extending over thirteen centuries and three continents. Sir, I ask my brethern of other communities to remember that Muslim India has been deeply stirred, and will be satisfied with nothing less than the fullest recognition of their legitimate rights.

To the British Government, I wish to strike a similar note of warning. If by any chance the British India Delegation cannot come to any agreed settlement, in all probability—nay certainly—the task of framing the constitution will fall on the British people. Let me warn the British Government most solemnly—and I would be failing in my duty if I did not do so—that they must not forget the claims, the legitimate aspirations, of seventy millions of Mussalmans, as well as those of the other minority communities in India. So far as the Mussalmans are concerned, not once or twice, but times without number, British statesmen have broken faith with the Mussalmans. I hope that experiment will not be repeated any longer. As for myself, I hope, that, if we work in a spirit of tolerance and goodwill, we shall still be able to surmount the difficulties. I hope that, as the future unfolds itself, our Motherland will be covered with eternal glory.

Sir Phiroze Sethna: Mr. Prime Minister, this Round Table Conference is the first of its kind since, in the inscrutable dispensation of divine Providence, India has come under British rule. At the same time, it is but inevitable that such a Conference should be held at the present juncture, because India has now reached a stage in its political and constitutional advancement when the

determination of its further constitutional progress and reforms cannot be made by Great Britain alone.

Sir, we who have accepted your invitation have incurred the very great displeasure of our countrymen, and even to-day we received telegrams from individuals and bodies asking us to return to India by the first boat available, because they do not believe that the work of this Round Table Conference is to result in anything satisfactory to India. We, however, who have come here have still faith in the British sense of justice, and we trust that, no matter what certain sections of the British public may say or write, the representatives of the three political Parties who sit round this Table with us come here with open minds, and, after hearing us, will be prepared to give what we want; and what we want and will be satisfied with is nothing short of Dominion Status with safeguards during the transitional period.

Mr. Chairman, we maintain that safeguards are certainly necessary during the transition period, and particularly in the matter of defence. If, however, we are not prepared in the matter of defence to take it up immediately, the blame does not lie so much with us as with the British themselves. We have been talking of monopolies for the last two days. Has it struck my Lord Peel that in the case of the commissioned ranks of the army—and there are 3,200 commissioned officers—up to 1918 not one single Indian had attained the rank of a commissioned officer. Is not that monopoly? And even then, thereafter, since there has been admission to Sandhurst, and latterly elsewhere, the number of Indians in the commissioned ranks has not yet reached 100.

As a business man, I will confine myself to those remarks which fell from Lord Peel on the subject of vested interests of the European community in India. He has been answered to a certain extent by Dr. Moonje yesterday, and by my friend Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and by Mr. Mody to-day. All that I want to impress upon this Conference is that if Indians are given the chance they will prove themselves worthy of undertaking any position that is entrusted to them, and the same will apply to the Army. Let me quote but one instance. The Government of India is divided into different Departments. There is one Department known as that of Education, Lands and Health. Till last year every single superior officer in that Department was an Indian. This year all are Indians except one. May I ask the Right Honourable The Secretary of State if he finds any fault with the working of that Department, or whether the Department is inferior in its work as compared with the other Departments of the Government of India? Sir, it is the keeping back of Indians which has helped the European community, the European commercial community, who, if they have not been given monopolies, have been shown preference, which preference has resulted in monopolies, as I will try to explain. Dr. Moonje and Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar quoted instances of monopolies going back more than a century. I will give you instances of monopolies before our eyes. About five years ago the contract which a

European-owned steamship company enjoyed for the carriage of coal from Calcutta to Rangoon for the Burmese railways was about to lapse. An Indian shipping company offered to tender, but received very evasive replies, until one fine day they were told that a fresh contract had already been entered into, and entered into for the long space of ten years; but what is more, although Government were asked as to the rates at which this contract was placed, to this day no answer has been given. May I ask Lord Peel if that constitutes a monopoly or not? It is preference but which amounts to a monopoly. That is not all. Take the case of railway freights. That is one sordid history of the Railway Board endeavouring to help the importer of non-Indian goods to the detriment of Indian enterprise. Take, again, the case of shipping rebates, which amounts to nothing less than the crushing from the start of any Indian-owned steamer company. In a communication by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce it was asserted that European companies had entered into an agreement with the jute mills of Bengal whereby the jute mills promised not to buy any jute carried on Indian vessels. To make it still more difficult, insurance companies, which at that time were mostly non-Indian, raised the rates of insurance premium on jute carried in vessels which were Indian. Is this not a monopoly? Is this not undue preference? This, Sir, is what Indians have suffered from for all these years. My noble Lord said that they were not monopolies, but these were vested interests created by skill, by energy and by commercial enterprise. I submit that Indians are capable of showing the same skill, the same energy and the same commercial enterprise, given the same opportunities. I submit these facts, not in a spirit of animosity, but I quote them in the hope that they will not occur in the future. I say Indians are not given the same opportunities. Blood is thicker than water. An English merchant has ready access to an official. He can settle things very easily, if not at the office then at his club over a peg of whisky or a glass of vermouth, whereas the Indian merchant might have to kick his heels for days, perhaps for weeks, before he can even gain admission to the room of the English official. There was more of this formerly than there is to-day. If that is changed to-day we owe it to that Secretary of State of illustrious memory, than whom no one has done more for India, I mean the late Mr. Edwin Samuel Montagu. I must not forget one other item in regard to monopolies. Are there not many instances of regencies during minorities in Indian States where the Resident, because he was all-powerful during the minority, has given monopolies to European firms to the exclusion of the subjects of the State and of British Indians? I am surprised that my noble Lord is not aware of the facts which I have given, and which I could easily multiply, and which he must have known in his capacity as Secretary of State, which high position he has held more than once.

I mentioned Mr. Montagu's good work for India. I rejoice to find that every single Indian present, whenever the name of Lord Irwin has been mentioned, has applauded it, and rightly so. But, Mr. Prime Minister, there is one other name to which you will

permit me to refer and in connection with which you will allow me to thank you very off, in that you selected him for the office of Secretary of State for India—I mean Mr. Wedgwood Benn. We recognise the worth of Mr. Benn. We recognise his goodwill and we know that if left to himself he would go as far as he possibly could in the matter of helping India and the Indians.

In the Government of India Despatch it is said distinctly that, "as far as advanced therein, finance should not be transferred but remain under the control of Parliament." May I ask how much the Government of India has contributed towards the advancement of India's credit? Let me refer to an instance which occurred in India less than six months ago. I do not know whether it was of their own instance, or whether it was with the permission and knowledge of the Government of India, that the Government of Bombay issued a circular from the Central Government Press of Bombay, which they broadcasted by the thousand, in which, in order to meet the boycott movement, they deprecated every Indian commercial enterprise. I will quote but one sentence in regard to banking. It says: "British banking is the mainstay of our banking system in India. It provides wide facilities and the strongest security. What should people in this country ignore these secure concerns in favour of much less stable ones?"—meaning thereby Indian concerns. Is that the way the Government of India propose to advance the credit of India? In answer to that I would say that, when India is entrusted with her own finances and when she knows that she will have to borrow money from outside countries, she will so manage her finances that her credit will be very greatly enhanced.

Lord Peel complained that none of the speakers who preceded him made any reference to the devoted services of Englishmen who had gone out to India in the different Services. There was no occasion to do so. We are always prepared to admit that Englishmen out there have certainly given of their best. At the same time they will admit that India has rewarded their services on a scale in which no other country pays either its Civil Servants or its other Services. Again it must not be forgotten that India pays to the tune of £4,000,000 annually in the way of pensions, both civil and military, to Europeans.

What do we ask for? As Mr. Jinnah pointed out, we want to be masters in our own house. We do not want to rob our European friends of their vested interests, but I would ask this Conference to remember that the vested interests were created by them when Indians had not the ghost of a chance to come in. Are we asking you to do any more than what you are doing in your own country? Take the cinema industry. Because you discovered that the British cinema film industry was not getting along as well as it ought to be doing, you imposed a quota. Then there was another case of an electrical company in regard to which you laid down by law that the percentage of shares held by Britishers must be no less than 51 per cent., so that its control may rest with you.

I have exceeded my time, and I will not say anything further. All that I want to impress upon this Conference is that if I have been forced to make the remarks I have made, it is just in answer to Lord Peel. I repeat that they are not made in a spirit of animus. I have only placed before you actual facts. I sincerely trust that when we go back with a constitution which will help us politically and economically, we Indian and European merchants will work together side by side for the advancement of India and England and, consequently, of the Empire.

Sir Akbar Hydari: In view of the fact that most of my ground has been covered by the Princes on the Indian States' Delegation, I should not have taken any part of your time. Representing, however, His Exalted Highness the Nizam, I feel I cannot sit silent, but should express in a few minutes the view of the Hyderabad State, that we shall not in any way be lagging behind in giving such assistance and help as will bring about a form of government which will satisfy Indian aspirations and which will function successfully under the difficult conditions that prevail in India to-day. I would merely ask the Delegates from British India, who have shown such strength of mind and patriotism in meeting here in face of so much opposition and contumely, to work for a constitution which will ensure a Government, national in every sense but which, by its stability, will endure, and not merely a constitution which will satisfy for the moment the uninstructed. In the same spirit do I ask the representatives of the British Parliament here to-day not to refuse a responsibility to a great Indian federal polity within the Empire. Infuse into it the elements that make for settled and orderly government, for the preservation of the autonomy of the States, and, last but not least, for the adequate defence of our frontiers against external aggression. I can assure you that in such a case your countrymen, who have done so much for India in the past, will have a welcome and an honoured place in the India of the future.

I believe that God's purpose can be read in history. I believe that it is not for nothing that this island set in the western seas has secured domination over our vast country and has held it for 150 years. I believe that we are now here to reap the harvest of these years of experience and discipline in a greater and more united India than our history has ever recorded.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad: You, Sir, and other members of the British Delegations must have been struck with the unanimity with which the Delegates from British India of all groups, of all communities and of all sections as well as the Indian Princes, have demanded full self-government for India. To the Indian Princes who have so patriotically stood by us our obligations are due, and I have every hope that, when we sit down to hammer out a federated constitution for India, the Indian Princes will therein occupy their rightful place.

I entirely agree with my friends Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Fazl-ul-Huq—I am sorry they are not here for the moment—that in any constitution which you frame the minority communities must be made to feel that they are safe. I can assure the minority communities that, so far as in us lies, the majority community will be able to agree to such safeguards as will satisfy them.

It has been said—I will not mention the name of Lord Peel: it has been mentioned so often before—that we Delegates here have not made sufficient acknowledgment of the very good work done by England in India in the department of education and in various other ways. To my mind it is profitless on the present occasion to go into those questions, because one may well feel disposed to ask whether it is an achievement of which anyone can be proud that, at the end of 150 years of British rule, the percentage of literates in British India is no more than about 9 per cent., whereas you find that in Indian India, in progressive States like Mysore, Baroda and Travancore, the percentage is very nearly 90 per cent. Can it also be said that in various other matters the achievement has been such as commends itself entirely to us? It has been officially recognised that many millions of human beings in British India exist on insufficient food; they cannot afford more than one meal a day. I venture to say you will not find that condition of affairs in Indian India.

It has been said that you ought to go by easy stages, that you must not quicken the pace, that you must be satisfied for the present with the sort of provincial autonomy reported on by the Statutory Commission. When that was mentioned my friend Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru interjected “Bogus,” and I entirely agree with him in that description of the provincial autonomy described by the Statutory Commission. Can that provincial autonomy be described as a real one under which you will have official Ministers? There would still be a large portion of the budget non-votable, and all the Services—recruitment, discipline, and so on—would still be in the hands of the Secretary of State. If you call that provincial autonomy you may, but I do not call it genuine or real provincial autonomy at all. Those who say “Go slowly; do not quicken the pace” are like some parents, who will never realise that the ward is no longer a ward but has now become a self-determining adult. Those parents and those politicians who take that view are sadly mistaken. The ward, who has now become a self-determining adult, is determined to have his way, to come into his own, to have the management of his own estate in his own hands. It does not do for the guardian to say “If I hand over your inheritance to you, you may mismanage it, you may manage it inefficiently, and you will commit mistakes.” Mr. Prime Minister, we are perfectly conscious that we may commit mistakes and that for some time our administration may be comparatively inefficient, but we are determined to go through that stage, for we want to come into our own. We may not manage things as efficiently as you are doing now, but it is our affair and we want to be allowed to manage it ourselves.

It has been said that if you take a constitution from here, a full democratic government, the moment that is given, power will be wrested from you, the Delegates who come here, by the people who have recently created all the trouble in India. I will not repeat the answer given very effectively to that suggestion by my friend Mr. Sastri. You have to make up your minds what you will do, and I beseech the British Delegations to think of the alternatives before them and to choose wisely. You can satisfy Indian aspirations and give power to India in her own affairs, and then, as sure as fate, those people whom you call irresponsible at present, who are now creating all the trouble in India, will be the first to come in and work that constitution in an ordered manner. On the other hand, if you do not do that, you can make up your minds—I do not say this as a threat, but with all gravity and with all the emphasis I can command—that the future is very black indeed both for India and England. If you do not grant now what India wants, the position will be this: you will have to enter into a long-drawn struggle, increasing every day. You may put down disorder; you are bound to put it down, and you will do so; but at every stage it will, sooner or later, again break forth with increased vigour, and you cannot rule 320 million people continuously by force and by military power.

I trust, therefore, you will make a wise choice. You can make India discontented, which will mean ruination for her and may mean ruination to England, or you can make now a contented India which will be the brightest jewel in the Empire and its greatest glory, and which will enhance the reputation of the Empire which, with all its faults, has excited not only the admiration, but even the envy of the rest of the world.

Plenary Session, 21st November, 1930.

Raja Sher Muhammad Khan: Before I begin my speech I welcome the ruling of the Chairman that there should be a time-limit of ten minutes, because, as a soldier, I am a man of action, not of words.

Mr. Prime Minister, as the representative of the Army, and therefore of the classes from which it is drawn, my first and foremost duty is to assure you of our steadfast loyalty and unshakable devotion to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor and his Throne. We are thus ever ready to uphold the cause of the British Commonwealth of which India forms an integral part. It is not without considerable diffidence that I have risen to address this gathering, wherein is collected together the intellect, the character and the experience of India and Great Britain. I am, and have been, a soldier, content to serve in the Army to the best of my humble and limited capacity, taking pride in the performance of those routine duties which, however monotonous they may appear to civilians, are the foundations of true discipline and, through discipline, of character. I believe, Sir, that the great and noble contribution which the Army can make, and has made in the past, to the solution of India's problems is the building up of a strong, self-reliant, vigorous and self-defendent Indian nation, cemented by those bonds of comradeship, professional pride and military discipline which the people of India have always displayed in the hour of greatest glory.

I am a stranger to politics, ignorant alike of the niceties and subtleties of parliamentary caucus, indifferent to the arts of the demagogue, and impervious to the appeals of self-advertisement. My life has been spent on the battlefields, on the snowy peaks of Asia Minor and the fertile valley of the Nile, and on the rocks of the Frontier, where Sir Abdul Qaiyum owns the land. China, Iraq, Turkey, Egypt and India have been the chief theatres where the regiment, to which I have the honour to belong, has fought. I went through the ordeal of the world-wide war, supremely confident of the justice of our cause, and determined to fight for those principles which were so gloriously vindicated on many a battlefield throughout Europe and Asia. Even now, I can picture to myself the scene. I can recall the field which seemed covered with poppies and call to memory the heroic deeds of thousands of my comrades in arms who laid down their lives with a smile of supreme satisfaction and cheerfully obeyed the call of duty on the inhospitable rocks and inaccessible creeks of the Frontier. While the politicians are busy discussing forms, modes and aspects of the constitution, while they are busy with the permutation and combination of policies, programmes and principles, we martial races of India guard the Frontier from the incessant raids of the stranger. It is the Army which acts as a bulwark against the limitless ambitions and boundless greed, not only of the Trans-border Frontier people, but also of foreign powers. The long coast-line of Madras and

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THE GENERAL DISCUSSION—(continued).

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Bombay is protected by the might of the British Navy. If the British ships are withdrawn, even for a day, the teeming millions of Madras and Bombay would be exposed to the fury of powers which I need not mention.

I have deemed it necessary to state these facts, as they are consistently ignored by the framers of constitutions. I belong to a community which has given a splendid account of itself in the past. Its achievement in the domain of art, culture, learning and science are engraved in the hearts of those countless millions in India who carry on the great tradition of our ancestors. As monuments, the record of its achievements is embodied in those great institutions which have stood the test of time and are now the foundation of modern India. The Punjab, the Province to which I have the honour to belong, was ruled by the Muslims for seven centuries, and though it was occupied by Ranjit Singh and his army for the brief space of thirty years, it is, and must remain, the centre of Muslim activity in India.

It is the focus of Muslim endeavour, Muslim energy, and Muslim capacity for a practical, orderly and harmonious life. Not only has my Province made great strides in education, but also there has been a renaissance in the rural and urban parts of the Province, and I am not exaggerating when I say that modern Punjab has risen, like Phoenix, from its ashes, and is showing all the vitality and vigour of a martial Province. The Punjab is the shield, spearhead and sword-hand of India, and it has won this proud title by its association with the flower of the British Army in every campaign in Asia. I am sure that our most popular Governor, Sir Malcolm Hailey, who is fortunately here present, will agree with me. It was the Punjabi soldier, with his simple life and sturdy spirit, who saved India during the confusion and anarchy of the Mutiny. The splendid band of fighters, who poured into the rich and fertile Gangetic Plains from the defiles of many a Punjab hill, rendered services which are recorded in the annals of British endeavour in letters of gold. At the beginning of the War the Punjab had about one hundred thousand men of all ranks in the Army. At the close of the War no less than half a million had served with the Colours. The number of fighting men raised during the four years of war was roughly 360,000, more than half the total number raised in India.

Speaking at Rawalpindi, on February 6th, 1921, His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught used these memorable words:

“The achievement of the Punjab was indeed remarkable. Even before the War the Punjab had a name familiar in the military annals of the Empire. But during the War she became a household word, not only on account of the number of men from the Punjab who joined the Colours, but also on account of the splendid fighting qualities they displayed in many a campaign.”

The Muhammadan community supplied more than half the number of recruits raised during the four years of war. In fact,

two Muslim districts of Rawalpindi and Jhelum, out of a total male population of a quarter of a million, sent nearly thirty thousand men with the Colours during the last year of the war.

Mr. Prime Minister, I have supplied these figures, not in a spirit of vainglory or self-praise. I have done so because I feel there is a possibility of our losing sight of the fundamental fact that the government is a government of men, and a constitution cannot be manufactured to order. It must be adapted to the capacities, tradition and environment of each country. I have no desire to discuss the political problems which confront you: I do not wish to enlarge on either the necessity or the difficulty of Dominion Status. My point is that our entire scheme of constitution would be a complete failure unless we make adequate provision for the Indian Army. If India wants to be a mistress in her own household, if she is keen on acquiring a status which will ensure her equality with the Dominions, the problems of the Army must be faced by her with courage and candour. The position now is that the number of Indians who have received commissions in His Majesty's Forces is alarmingly low. The one principle which must be kept permanently in view is that there should be no duality in the Army. The Government has propounded a scheme of duality in the Central Government; the Indian Statutory Commission has devised a still more complicated and impractical scheme. They recommend the maintenance of an Imperial Army and Dominion Army. In my humble opinion duality in the Army will disorganise the whole machinery of the Army Department. It will produce constant friction, breed innumerable troubles, and lead to extravagance and even chaos. The Army in India must be one and indivisible.

Having stated this basic principle, let me deal with some of its implications. If India achieves a federal Government, and I cannot conceive any other form of Government in such a vast country, she will have a national Army, setting the highest standards, organising the resources of men and materials and focussing her needs through the building up of an efficient and striking fighting machine. The national Army must, however, be supplemented by citizen militia or military police maintained by each federal Province of British India. The powers of the national Army over the citizen militia will be varied. There must be co-ordination of supervision and control. I cannot contemplate the possibility of a citizen militia of each province acting independently of others or of the national Army. This would produce chaos and disorder. As British Indian States gain in experience, this control might be relaxed to some extent. Whilst it is essential that the individuality and freedom of the citizen militia of each Province should be maintained intact, it is no less essential that there should be supervision by, and co-ordination with, the national Army. The national Army must be under a Council, consisting of the Viceroy, Commander-in-Chief and other members of specialised experience, and must be free from the ebb and flow of *Assembly politics*. This is my conception of the part which the Army will play in the centre as well as in the Provinces of federal India.

This brings me to another problem, which the Round Table Conference will have to discuss. One aspect of this is the provision of officers for the Indian Army. I am convinced that excellent material exists in India for officers and that if opportunities were provided for Indians, the requisite number of officers would have been forthcoming in large numbers. It must be admitted that the methods adopted hitherto for the supply of officers have not been satisfactory. I need not go into details, as these problems were discussed exhaustively by the Sandhurst Committee. I am strongly of the opinion that an Indian Sandhurst should be created, and that the number of commissions to be given to Indians should be rapidly increased. It is obvious that the rate of advance will depend upon numerous factors, and I am not going to lay down here the minimum number of years during which the Indian Army should be "Indianised." Again, under zeal for Indianisation, we must not overlook the important fact that not all parts of India can produce recruits in sufficient numbers. Whatever the theorists may say about the absence of non-martial races in India, the palpable and vivid realization of the fundamental facts of history and physical geography, environment and climate, must be kept permanently in view. There are some parts of India where recruits of the requisite stamp can be raised. There are other parts where the absence of martial tradition, the inclemencies of climate and the nature of environment and occupation, render efficient service impossible. If the Army of New India is to be efficient, *it must contain the flower of its manhood, the cream of society. It must contain men who are determined and prepared to die*, and not logicians to whom mere physical abstractions make greater appeal than solid realities. Hence the martial races, and the martial Provinces must be specially utilised for the purpose. This seems to me to be an indispensable preliminary to any successful experiment in the necessary national Army.

I have not discussed the question of internal organization of the Army, nor have I dealt with the numerous other problems which arise out of the subjects which I have sketched. It is unnecessary for me to do so, as I think it will be found that a Committee of Defence, which this Conference should establish, will be the proper body for the purpose. Such a Committee seems to me to be absolutely necessary, as the structure of our constitution will be shaky and very unsound until it is based on a practical and efficient system of a national Army from the common Motherland.

Mr. Chintamani: Mr. Prime Minister, as a humble member of the Delegation from British India, and as almost the last speaker from among its ranks, I deem it my duty and privilege to express my profound and respectful appreciation of the valuable contribution which their Highnesses the Ruling Princes have made to the success of these deliberations. In the future India—a united greater India—the part which the Princes have to play will be even more important than that which has already fallen to their lot; and, speaking as a Hindu with the traditional reverence of my race for

rulers, I express the confident hope that in them federated India will find the best of friends, philosophers and guides.

Next, I ask your permission to express my appreciation of the patient endurance and courtesy with which the members of the British Delegations have listened without a word of interruption to many an unpalatable truth which has been driven home to their minds by the speakers from my country. This spirit of discipline, which is but one of the many traits of British character of which I am a profound admirer, conveys to us its own lesson, and I trust I shall have the good fortune, as previous speakers have had, of being given an equally patient hearing for a few minutes.

I am not in the least disturbed by the speech of our ex-Secretary of State, Lord Peel. I read long years ago that the British Tory has a habit of being the most vehement in his protestations just on the point of surrendering a hopelessly untenable position. Sir, the accents of Lord Peel were mildness itself compared with the strident utterances of some of his colleagues in his Party, and if I were he I should shudder to think of what reception would be accorded to me by the Churchills and the Beaverbrooks of the Party. I hope, Sir, that history will repeat itself, and that the Party of which Lord Peel is a shining ornament will not be slow to profit by the example of the greatest Tory leader of the last century, Mr. Disraeli, and that just as he stole the garments of the Liberal Party and introduced the Reform Bill in 1867, so it will be with Lord Peel's Party and that, if the opportunity falls to them, they will not be slow to take advantage of the spade work that your Party is now doing in order to confer upon India the gift of self-government. Lord Peel, as the bearer of a great and historic name, may also profit by the example of his great ancestor, who had no hesitation in giving up Protection and repealing the Corn Laws, that the great-grandson will have no hesitation in realising that to obstruct the political advance of India is to stand by a lost cause, and that he will be wise in his day if he will join our ranks and will help us in our advance.

But one word I shall permit myself to say with regard to his observations on commercial monopolies and the conditions by which industrial and commercial advance is guided. As he evidently thinks that there is no injustice or inequality operating against Indians, I desire with all respect to make a present to him of this book, the life of the greatest of India's great industrial captains, J. N. Tata, by an Englishman, Mr. F. R. Harris. If he goes through this book I am sure he will see from many illustrations, cited with a wealth of detail, that there is justification for the complaints which we utter.

At the commencement of our proceedings I was by no means sure whether Lord Reading had come to pray or to curse, and after listening to his speech of yesterday I am still left in doubt as to what attitude he is going to adopt when the stage comes for concrete proposals. But, Sir, true to the definition of Liberalism, Lord Reading has not stood still during the days that have elapsed since his return from India. He confessed yesterday that he was respon-

sible for a certain utterance in the Legislative Assembly some years ago, when it was sought to explain that responsible government was different from and less than Dominion Status and the latter had never been promised to us. He made a confession yesterday which was gratifying to us, and I hope that, as he claimed to be an inheritor of the great traditions of Liberalism, he will care more for the Liberalism of the greatest of Liberals this or any other country has known, Mr. Gladstone, than for the Liberalism of his colleague, Sir John Simon. Mr. Gladstone stated a proposition and enunciated a principle, which I respectfully beg to bring to the notice of Lord Reading. He said:

✓ "It is one of the uniform and unfailing rules that guide human judgment, if not at the moment, yet of history, that when a long relation has existed between a nation of superior strength and one of inferior strength, and that relation has gone wrong, the responsibility for the guilt rests upon the strong rather than upon the weak."

Again, and to this I invite his particular attention:

✓ "I hold," said Mr. Gladstone, "that the capital agent in determining finally the question whether our power in India is or is not to continue will be the will of the 240 millions of people who inhabit India. The question who shall have supreme rule in India is, by the laws of right, an Indian question and those laws of right are from day to day growing into laws of fact. Our title to be there depends on a first condition, that our going there is profitable to the Indian nation, and on a second condition, that we can make them see and understand it to be profitable."

This, Sir, is the true, and should be the guiding, principle, and not the latter day imperialistic doctrine which seeks to use what are called coloured peoples as the foot-stool, upon which the colourless people might build their prosperity and power and rise to fame.

Sir, it is a great privilege and advantage that this historic Conference has for its President no less a man than yourself, the first subject of the Crown, the holder of the greatest office in the British Empire. We Indians have many reasons to be grateful to you. Early in your public life you showed an interest in India and a concern for her welfare and progress which led to your visit to my country and the subsequent publication of the book called "The Awakening of India." Your sympathy was so pronounced that the Indian National Congress invited you to fill the office of its President in the year 1911, and you expressed your readiness to accept that position but for domestic political circumstances, which rendered it impossible for you to go. Three years later you showed, when the war broke out, that in you there was not the so-called professional politician, a soldier of fortune, but one who had the courage of conviction and was fearless of unpopularity. Five years after that you made a gift to my country, a gift which I find to be of particular value. Here is that gift. It is a constant friend of mine, because whenever I, in the exercise of my vocation as an

Indian editor, feel induced to pay compliments to the Government of India, I find them in "The Government of India," by J. Ramsay MacDonald, in which there is plenty of ammunition with which to make attacks on that Government. In the preface to your book I read: "India's needs cannot be met by an adjustment here and an adjustment there. They have to be viewed in their wide sweep." In 1928, presiding at the British Commonwealth Labour Conference in London you said: "I hope that within a period of months rather than years there will be a new Dominion added to the Commonwealth of our nations, a Dominion of another race, a Dominion that will find self-respect as an equal within the British Commonwealth. I refer to India." And your Party, in 1929, on the eve of the election, said—and this is what your Party is committed to—the Labour Party believed in the right of the Indian people to self-government and self-determination, and the policy of the Labour Government would be one of continuous co-operation with them with the object of establishing India at the earliest possible moment, and by her consent, as an equal partner with the other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Sir, I trust that this Conference, unique and unprecedented in many ways, will propose a measure that will establish a lasting friendship between our two great nations. It is no good following Lord Rosebery and writing efficiency on a clean slate. Efficiency of administration which does not lead to the prosperity, contentment and happiness of the people has no meaning and no reality. After nearly a century and a half of British bureaucratic rule in India illiteracy is still the badge of the tribe. There is poverty which a former Secretary of State the Duke of Argyll, described as poverty worse than any that could be witnessed anywhere in Europe, and there is communal tension, there is incapacity for military defence. For all these things it is British policy and the bureaucratic system of government which are responsible. No longer should the Government of India be maintained as what it has been called—a despotism of despatch boxes tempered by the occasional loss of keys. No longer should red tape be King and sealing wax Minister. The Government of India can be a reality in the interests of the people of India when that Government is carried on by the representatives of those people, and not by others who may claim to be father, mother and guardian, all rolled into one, of the uneducated masses.

If this Conference does not lead to the fruition of India's most legitimate hopes and aspirations, I shudder to think of the future. The present system of government stands discredited; there is definitely an end of peace in India on the basis of the present system. A system which can be maintained only by casting into gaol two such noble beings as Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is a doomed system. I hope that statesmanship—which has been described as the foresight of common sense—will recognise the wisdom of avoiding a crisis and of solving this problem in a friendly spirit. As in the city that has adopted me, Allahabad—pardon me, Sir, it is the best city in India—the two sacred rivers,

and Mussalmans and whatever we may call ourselves—want to be masters in our own house. there is no thought of disloyalty. We do not want to separate from the British Empire: we want to live within it, and even in these days of unrest, if any member of the Royal Family will come to India, I am quite sure that not only the Mussalmans but the Mahrattas and other Hindus from every Province will show their loyalty and their love for the Empire, under which they have enjoyed so many benefits. We are generally a law-abiding people, and although during these forest satyagrahas some little damage is done, it is done, not with any object of private gain or private profit, but simply to show that the people are protesting against a system which is grinding them down.

The Government of Bombay have recognised these aspirations of the people. They could not support the recommendations made by the Simon Commission—and who in India has accepted those recommendations? They have been looked upon as very reactionary, and many people have even refused to look at them. The Government of Bombay have, in their Despatch, shown what should be the future constitution of India, and in this I am very glad to say the Government have recognised that India should be given some amount of self-respect by bestowing upon her the power to have a partial mastery in her own house. The Government have recommended certain reservations and certain safeguards, but responsibility at the Centre has been advocated, and that I bring to the notice of this Conference, for it is a very important thing. A number of people say there should be provincial autonomy only, and that there need not be any advance at the Centre. Provincial autonomy, as it is called, is our due. We have worked the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and the dyarchic system, and I may assure this Conference that the responsible Ministers who took part in its administration will not look at Dyarchy again. Dyarchy has been condemned and complete provincial autonomy must be given at this time, or else the system will not work. Much has been said about the reservation of Law and Order. I do not myself see any difficulty there. The Hindus and the Muslims do form one people. We have lived together in perfect amity and confidence in each other. In the Bombay Council my Party and the Mussalmans have worked together with almost one mind. I am quite sure that, when provincial autonomy comes, if Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah were made Minister in charge of Law and Order, no Hindu would ever entertain any fear. With pardonable pride I may say, Sir, that if I am put in charge of that office of responsibility my Muhammadan friends will always trust me. Difficulties in our domestic affairs can be settled. We have settled them before, and we shall settle them now. In the Army Hindu-Muhammadan questions never arise. When fighting shoulder to shoulder the Hindu is proud to trust a Muhammadan and the Muhammadan to trust a Hindu. When a regiment contains some Hindu and some Muhammadan companies, the Hindus take part in Muslim festivals and the Muhammadans join the Hindus in their sorrows and share in their joys.

I should like to say a few words about the new India that is taking shape. The youths of the country are taking the movement in their own hands. People, looking on the surface only, may think that their activities are mostly political, but that is not true. The younger generation is realising that, for the sake of the unity of India, differences of caste and creed and race ought to disappear. Whatever differences there may be between the older people, I am quite sure that their children will come together as friends and brothers. The next generation is going to be something quite different.

I have to say something also about the Army, but as time is limited I need not say much. A few weeks ago I had a talk with a British General and I discussed with him the scheme which is at present in operation as a step in Indianisation. The General agreed with me that the present scheme was not satisfactory. He said that under that scheme Indian officers would hardly get any training in responsibility. I asked him what he would recommend, and he said that it would be much better if young officers were made lieutenants in some of the Indian regiments, and then these young officers from Sandhurst and other military colleges could be put under them. Then it would be easy for them to get military knowledge and to imbibe military traditions more quickly than under the present system. I am very obliged to H.M. The Maharaja of Patiala for offering help in exactly the same direction.

I was very agreeably surprised to hear from the speeches of the Princes that they are eager to come within the Federation. I had not expected that that time would come so quickly. I had expected that the Indian Princes would like to form their own confederation and then to come into the general scheme after some years of experience. If they are already eager to join the general Federation I would not like to stand in their way, although I think that perhaps it would be better for the Indian Princes to develop their own Indian Chamber of Princes, by forming a Federation of their own, and taking up certain problems in which the Rajas and Maharajas are interested, and in this way build up a tradition of their own, while allowing British India to develop along its own lines. The development of British India has been all along on the line of a unitary system of government. Devolution is doing its part gradually, and when the provinces are properly developed there will be a time—I am sure this will be very short—when British India and Indian India will be united. We shall then be able to show that the spirit of amity and friendship that has pervaded this Conference has secure foundations, that India is an indivisible whole and is determined to be a Nation, determined to take her rightful place among the comity of nations.

Colonel Haskar: Sir, yesterday you expressed the hope that we should be able to finish our proceedings to-day by noon. It is now twenty minutes past eleven, you have still got to sum up, and you must have much more time to sum up—and are entitled to have it—than any member of any Delegation. I must not encroach on

your time and I shall try not to do so. This Conference, if it has not already formerly done so, will appoint a Committee to consider and recommend the principles on which the future Government of India should rest. That Committee will report and this Conference will examine the suitability of its recommendations. For this reason any expression of views at this stage as to how the future should be ordered appears to me to prejudice the issue or to be at best superfluous. Yet by the will of this Conference, the opportunity for a general discussion has been extended from day to day and from hour to hour. I take it, Sir, that the object of the general discussion is to bring about a comprehensive attitude of mind in this Conference—an attitude of mind which will result from every member of this Conference becoming acquainted with the different points of view, to the end that the final conclusions of this Conference may be in consonance with the general wish and related to the powerful factors which constitute the complex problem with which India and England are to-day confronted.

May I, with your permission, trace for a moment the genesis of this Conference to a point of time anterior to Sir John Simon's recommendation, and concurrently express my view of the reasons which invest this Conference with such tremendous importance. The conditions which led to the Government of India Act of 1919, I submit, had already come into existence forty-five years before, and so it was that in 1885 the foundation was laid of the Indian National Congress at the instance of no less a person than Lord Dufferin, then Viceroy of India. The conditions which led to the Reforms of 1919 had also been so created. By the Government of India Act of 1919 it was provided that, after the Reforms had been in operation for ten years, an enquiry would be held in regard to certain specified issues. When England made this provision, it consciously desired to review the result of the big experiment it was launching. But subconsciously, I submit, by that very provision it brought on record the fact that the experiment it was trying, bold though it was, did not cover all the factors of the problem which it had set out to solve. In the inner consciousness of England there was the feeling that the Act of 1919 had ignored the existence of the Indian States. This phase of the problem has obtruded itself since on the attention both of the British Government and of the people of British India. But I must pass on to the operations of the Act of 1919 and show how the existing unhappy conditions in India are the consequence of that Act. In British India that Act created an appetite which grew, and has grown by what it fed on. Sir, it has been remarked that the present conditions in India constitute a problem of British India. I beg to submit that the problem of British India is also the problem of the Indian States, because the conditions that have arisen in India are every day in a greater measure affecting the Indian States. It has been said that the problem of India is a racial problem. It may or may not be so. I believe that it is so to a considerable extent on account of the relative position of the Englishman and the Indian in India. Whether that position has existed by design, or in consequence of

the Government of India, or in spite of it, is not the point. That it has existed is a fact. Let every Englishman search his heart and find and answer to the question, how he would feel if the position were reversed, if in his home in England his position became something like what the position of the Indian is in his own home. But whether fundamentally the problem is a racial problem or not, is it not in a deeper sense a human problem? I do not think it is any matter for wonder that every Indian—Prince or peasant—should, in consequence of the conditions which have prevailed for certainly a period of 60 years counting back to 1870, feel, and feel strongly, that he might be saved from his friends. I submit, therefore, that the problem of India may be viewed as a problem of human nature, and let no doctrinaire considerations obscure the view.

I promised to explain how the present position in India is due to the Reforms of 1919. I do not propose to review the legislation of the last ten years to illustrate how that legislation has adversely affected the rights of the States in many ways, or how it has given rise to the feeling in British India that measures can be carried, which the country feels are opposed to its interests. I shall choose only one example. Take the fixation of the exchange ratio at 1s. 6d. It was a measure which was carried. I need not recall the well-known circumstances in which it was carried. It was a measure which affected British India and the States alike. India may well wonder how a measure, to which there was such strong and deep-rooted opposition, could be carried against the wishes of the country. In any case the States did not even have the opportunity of expressing in any proper sphere—and such a sphere does not even exist to-day—and of joining the chorus of disapproval against that measure. It may therefore be said to the credit of the Reforms of 1919 and the Government of India Act of that year that they have served the very useful purpose of enabling India, British India and the States, to determine what radical changes are necessary in her constitution for the safeguard of her vital interests. This one illustration alone should suffice to explain, firstly, British India's cry for the transfer of responsibility at the Centre and, secondly, the anxiety of the States that, in matters which affect them and British India in common, they should have an effective voice in the framing and execution of policies.

Surprise has been expressed in various quarters that the States have shown a readiness to federate with British India, even though, until the other day, they always maintained that they and British India mutually should have no concern with each other. This surprise is to me truly amazing. Is the attitude of the States not the direct logical consequence of the Reforms of 1919 and the aftermath of those Reforms?

While on this point I should like to offer two further observations. The first is, as I have said, that the conditions in British India no longer constitute the problem of British India alone: they constitute as much the problem of the States. The other is that, if

the States whole-heartedly support the demands of British India, if they desire to unite with British India in a Federation which will rest upon their vital and fundamental rights being recognised, they do so, not to gain any exclusive advantage for themselves, but with the object of keeping the Empire whole and entire. They do so out of their loyalty to the King-Emperor. They are once again doing for England what they did in 1857, namely, coming to England's rescue. In just that lies the true inwardness of the attitude which the States are taking to-day. They are desirous of restoring peace and contentment to their unhappy country and of rehabilitating the honour of England in India. If the unitary form of government remains, I doubt very much if England will feel the confidence to concede to India all that India is asking. If the States come in, and there is a federal form of government, I am sure that that fact would inspire England with sufficient confidence to entrust to India the management of her own affairs.

What better can England ask of Providence than a united and contented India behind her, to face with her all the risks of the future and to help her in solving her many domestic problems? A united India, I believe, has been the goal and the ideal of England in India, and the States have come along to make the realisation of that ideal possible. They are asking England to put the coping stone on the magnificent edifice which she has raised in India, and, indeed, by consenting to let the people of India manage the affairs of their country according to their own genius, they are enabling England to win the blessings of the 320,000,000 men and women of India, who, according to their faith in Kismet, actually believe that the day of their deliverance is now dawning.

H.H. The Aga Khan: Mr. Prime Minister, I did not intend speaking here either to-day or at any stage of these proceedings, but some of the members of the British India Delegation have told me, as recently as last night and this morning, that it was my duty to express my views. I have come quite unprepared, but the best preparation of all has been the proceedings of this Conference. You, Sir, and the British representatives of the three Parties of the State have heard practically every school of Indian thought. From the Hindus to the Muslims, coming down across the centre, nearly every school has spoken. Their Highnesses, the Princes, have spoken. If we eliminate all differences, there is on one point complete unanimity. We all ask for a full measure of self-government. I think, as Chairman of the British India Delegation, working in co-operation with the two other Delegations, I can say that we are all unitedly asking for that. We ask you to promise us the framework. If the picture that we are to paint on it is unsatisfactory to any of the important minorities, or to the Princes, or to a small section of the minorities, we will try again—and if we fail we will try again: and we will continue trying till we produce something that will be generally satisfactory. I, for one, am particularly anxious that it shall be in a form which will ensure that, not only every Indian minority, but the British com-

mercial element in India shall be satisfied that their interests are safe in our hands. As to the interests of this country, a united India could offer her a far greater security as to her commercial interests than anything she has at present; could offer her a long-dated treaty on the lines of the German-Russian Treaty of 1904. For many years that would ensure your commerce fair and equitable treatment, and that would give your people a sense of security. The same applies to debt and to other interests, which would be infinitely safer than merely relying, as at present, on the strength of this country and not on a consented agreement with India.

Mr. Prime Minister, there is no reason why, if we can produce a federal scheme that will please the Princes, that will please the Hindus, that will please the Muslims, that will please the smaller minorities and that will satisfy all the legitimate commercial interests, and at the same time for a period reserve certain objects, there is no reason why we should not at this moment start on the basis of full self-government and responsibility.

Chairman: Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is now my task to conclude this part of our proceedings, and in doing so it is my duty to try and survey the field as it is at the present moment. Of course, the very first thing that enters into one's mind, and remains in one's mind with growing strength, is the simple objective fact that we are all here together. It has never happened before. This surely is a union of India sitting at the council table, not only with the British Government, but with the British Parliament—the British Parliament represented by members of the House of Lords, by members of the House of Commons, and by members of the Government in existence for the time being. My Indian friends, those of you with a keen and lively imagination, when I wrote those things that were going to satisfy the heart of my well-armed friend, Mr. Chintamani, did you ever imagine that this would have happened under those circumstances and in such a brief space of time? Do remember this, that the first thing you have to do regarding this Conference is to assure yourselves that we have reached a milestone that indicates a different future from what the past has been.

I said to you, when you elected me to this Chair at the beginning, that you were doing me a very great honour. The sense of that honour has grown from hour to hour and from day to day. This is not only an historic Conference in the sense in which I have used the word, but it is historic in other senses that ought to put pride into the hearts of every one of you here. You have listened to those magnificent speeches, so full of promise, of the Princes. You have listened to speeches, and it is impossible for me to individualise and particularise them, from representatives of practically every interest, every community, every differing group in India. You have done more. You have listened to a charming new voice, which, in itself, marks something great and something most significant in the evolution of Indian self-government, the voice of the women of India.

This, then, is a recognition of status. This recognition made here never can be departed from. It is impossible to go back, to pass a pen through the last four or five days and to declare in any man's vanity that it never existed. It has been born in order to develop. We have listened to remarkable speeches, speeches displaying the mind of India, speeches when differences were declared, not meant to send us all away, you home to India, we back to the House of Commons, full of despair, but speeches which were meant, and must be taken to mean, to bring us face to face with facts in order that those facts may be overcome and fitted into a system of agreement. And, my Indian colleagues, do remember this. This is a small place; we are few; but we have not been your only audience. You have spoken to the great audience of the British public outside. Mr. Sastri, in pursuance of that honourable character which has always been his, told you quite candidly that he had changed his opinion. Mr. Sastri, you are not the only man who has changed his opinion within the last few days. We want opinions to change, not in fundamentals, not in aspirations, not in ideals, not in those great basic human claims; but we want opinions to change in this sense, that every new fact brought before us challenges us to accommodate it in the practical systems which I hope we are going to construct before we leave this Table.

There has been a great influence on public opinion here by your speeches. Every time you spoke you have had effect. Our friends opposite, who belong to the minorities, and who feel, I dare say—not only say but feel—that they are minorities, I give you this word of cheer and this word of comfort: the case you have put up has not fallen on deaf ears.

Another observation I want to make is this. The speeches have not stated problems for the purpose of debate: we have gone past all that. We are not here to debate; we are here for action. Every one of you who has been in politics—and I dare say some of you will be a little more in the centre before you depart from this life—will, I think, before you go from here have a new angle from which to consider politics, the sort of angle that my honourable friends by me and myself have had to occupy, the angle of the responsible man whose problem is to relate the “is” to the “is to be”, and to create in the “is”, from the vital strength that it gets from the “is to be”, an evolution which will work itself out in accordance with the laws of its own being. It is not for us here to be recorders of what happened in 1800. We are not the recorders of the past. We are the custodians of the future. The policies of 1800, pursued by us and by every other nation, were pretty much the same. The policy of 1930 is to depend upon the situation which has been created by the passing of the years since then. That is the next important thing that we have to consider in our work.

I hear it sometimes said that, somehow or other, some group or other wishes to go back upon what has been said and what has been accepted by you as pledges between, say, 1917 and this moment. That is not true. The Government accepts everything

that has been officially said. This Conference has been called because we accept it. This Conference at its meetings will have proof that we mean to carry it out. We have to face—and again I think of speeches delivered from the section of the Conference immediately in front of me—we have to face practical requirements. I do not like that word “difficulty”, because when a man says he is in difficulties he always implies, to some extent, that he is overcome. But there are two types of mind and two classes of men who never can face difficulties with success. The first type and the first class is the man who, when he comes up against a difficulty, imagines either that it is not there at all, or that he can jump over it without any trouble. He comes a cropper. The other type of man, who is equally ineffective, is the man who says, “Oh! there’s a difficulty. Let us stop our pilgrimage. The road is blocked. It is not our home, but we cannot go home. Let us pitch our camp in front of the difficulty.” He is no good. Neither of these types is of any use. The man of practical action, the type of man and the type of mind that is going to serve both India and this country with success and with honour and be a blessing to both, is the type of man who says: “Yes, there is a difficulty. Come on, let’s get over it.” That is the spirit in which we approach the problems before us. We have precisely the same sort of problem which, although different in its content—very, very different in its content—but the same type of problem, the same class of problem both in thinking and practical action, which we had to face the other day at the Imperial Conference. 1926 made a great declaration. 1930 had to put a content into that declaration. That is the position in which we are all here at this present moment.

As one of the speakers this morning said, our friend in front, government is a government of men, and constitutions cannot be made to order. Constitutions are not made at firesides. May I, with due respect, as one who belongs to the same fraternity, who honours the fraternity, but knows its weakness, add that neither can constitutions be made in the editorial offices of newspapers? I include myself in that. What we have to do, as men of knowledge, men of experience, men who have thought out problems, is to come and sit together, full of the faith, as a preliminary necessity, that we can find our way through, and that when we have found our way through we shall feel proud of our action, and will see our action fructify in the peace and the happiness of our people.

What has emerged from this? I say first of all that status has emerged. We are here altogether—Princes, British Indians, Hindus, Muhammadans, the minorities grouped in their various sub-divisions, some with great grievances, some with less grievances, but yet, very considerable grievances—some like Burma, whose case we shall have to consider before this Conference is finally wound up. Here we are altogether—my friend Sapru, myself, our friends over there, all at the same Table, working at the same problem, listened to in the same way, enjoying the same freedom of expression, and taking to ourselves, quite rightly, the full right of criticising,

objecting, negotiating, bargaining and accepting finally, or rejecting. I repeat, that is a gain which is marked by the meeting of this Conference. Let it be noted that it is not static; it is not for this time only. This has established a relationship of active co-operation between us, in which your part is as conspicuous as ours.

A second thing is this. The speeches have been extraordinarily practical in their character. There is another word I do not like—that this subject shall be “reserved” and that subject shall be “reserved”. That seems to imply the idea that we are sitting here, and that we are wishing to exercise a control merely in relation to ourselves and not in relation to you. The problem of the reserved subjects—and every speaker has said that that problem must be faced—is a problem of how things are to be fitted into the conditions which exist to-day; not to stabilise and ossify these conditions, but as practical men who know perfectly well that within six weeks of our agreement you will have to bear responsibilities for it and we will have to bear responsibilities for it. You will have to go and face public opinion in India. You will have to go and face agitation in India. You will have probably to go and face those black flags which bade you God speed, and may be displayed again in order to give you India’s welcome. So shall we. So shall this country. All I say is this: that as practical men we must face those facts, and in the agreement we make give them a place. It is not reserving; it is not withholding; it is not withdrawing; it is this: it is an honest study, as between responsible men and responsible men, of the facts relating to the conditions in India and the facts relating to public opinion here for the time being. We have to recognise the objective nature of our task, not merely its subjective nature.

This is another point. The declaration of the Princes has revolutionised the situation. Supposing we had met here without the Princes, supposing the Princes had come and had said nothing, or supposing they had said, “We are here merely as spectators.” What a different situation would have presented itself to us! The Princes saying what they have said has at once not only opened our vision, not only cheered our hearts, not only let us lift up our eyes and see a glowing horizon, but has simplified our duties. The Princes have given a most substantial contribution in opening up the way to a really united federated India.

The final point that I need mention in this connection is this. We have made a great contribution here, you have made a great contribution, to the style of the architecture of the constitution. I had an Indian illustration in my mind. I do not think I will give it. You know, I have wandered up and down India, I have seen your beautiful old architecture. Under its walls and standing in its shadows, I have tried to pour out my Western—prejudices shall I call them?—not exactly, because I do not think they are prejudices, but my Western upbringing—and I have been able to revel in that extraordinary blossoming of the artistic Indian mind. Style of architecture, my friends.—remember this—has a

great controlling influence on the mind that abides with it. Give us a constitution which is crude and alien in its construction, and it will not help us. Give us a constitution which is in accordance with experience, which has become part and parcel of your spiritual thoughts, and that will help you. And the contribution I make to the style of the architecture of your constitution is this. The most characteristic foundation of our common Aryan civilisation, of our common Aryan social order, is the family. The family, as the Begum said yesterday, united in the village, the village united in the district and so on—India a Federation, a Federation which is flexible, a Federation which meets the historical inheritance you have all got in so far as it is worthy to be carried into the future, a Federation which enables mergings to take place, a Federation which embodies in itself the authority of the State and the liberty of the individual; the superiority of the combination, and homage at the same time to the containing smaller co-ordinating groups within the Federation: that is in accordance. I think, both with the Indian genius and the British genius, because as a matter of fact, in our fundamentals we drink at the same historical fountains and are refreshed by the same historical reminiscences.

With regard to the practical points, I have a series here which I have taken down. They are not systematic; please do not criticise them as that. They are casual. I took them down from the speeches as they were being delivered, not by any of us, but by you. What will be the nature of the component units which are to be fitted into a scheme of federation? What will be the nature of the central co-ordinating structure? What will be the relations of this structure to the Provinces? What will be the relations of it to the States? What provisions will be made to secure the willing co-operation of the minorities and the special interests? What will be the subjects with which the general structure will deal, and in general what should be its powers, functions and responsibilities?

Good debating speeches are not going to carry us over those problems and provide an answer to them. I always delight in listening to my very nimble Indian friends when they are in debate, and I must confess to a sin on my own part; I love to take part in them. But that is not for here and now. Your problem and my problem is to sit down together and supply practical answers to those questions, which can be embodied in an Act of Parliament.

This constitution, this Federation, or whatever it may be, must meet two fundamental requirements. In the first place, it must work. There is no good producing a constitution which will not work. That will not get you out of your difficulties and will not get us out of ours. The other point is this: the constitution must evolve. You are not in a position here to produce a static constitution that your grandsons and your great-grandsons and great-great-grandsons will worship as though it was one of your sacred inheritances. Therefore, the constitution must work and the constitution must evolve. It must be a continuing thing, and in the evolving Indian opinion and Indian experience must be the

more important initiating power. That is the history, as a matter of fact, of all the constitutions of our Dominions. In saying what I have said I am not asking you to take up any special position at all. Look at the history of our evolving Dominions and you will find that they had ardent men in the days of the evolution, cursing, swearing, going to prison, boasting that they had been in prison. It all had to be gone through. These things, although we may say it in our rashness and our thoughtlessness, are really not the acts of man. They are the things that are inevitable in relation to the great fundamental laws which govern the life and provide for the changes in the life of the world, and nobody knows it better than the great Hindu and Muhammadan philosophers. You have to apply this to our procedure. We are not hard-headed business men always counting material gains. No, the politician is different from that. The politician has to have his spiritual draughts in order to enable him to be practical in his political proposals. I want you to remember that in your negotiations, and I hope we will still more.

That is all I need say. Final words will have to be reserved for final meetings. Between final meetings and this is the honest, laborious thinking, considering and pondering of the problems in front of us. Leaving the Chair, as I shall now proceed to do to-day, I only leave it so that somebody else may go into some other chair, and this Plenary Conference may resolve into Committees. All I can say of that is that in the worth of those Committees you have the best will, not only of His Majesty's Government but of the British Parliament, House of Lords and House of Commons together. We shall wait with expectation, a little bit anxious perhaps, as I am sure you will be, with perhaps a little anxiety, but all the same with expectation and in the hope that, as a result of the work of those Committees, we shall be able in our final meetings to register agreement which will send you back to India happy men, powerful men, men able to face your difficulties, and which will give us a chance of doing the same thing here, and which above all will enable both of us to go our various ways with the friendship which unites us strengthened and the desire to co-operate which is still with us amplified enormously beyond what it is at the present moment.

BURMA.

DISCUSSION IN THE COMMITTEE OF WHOLE CONFERENCE (1ST DECEMBER, 1930) ON THE QUESTION OF THE SEPARATION OF BURMA FROM INDIA, WHICH PRECEDED THE SETTING UP OF SUB-COMMITTEE No. IV (see PARAGRAPH 6 OF INTRODUCTORY NOTE, PAGE 3).

Mr. Ba Pe: Mr. Prime Minister, the question of Burma is for us a very simple one. The question whether Burma should remain within the Indian Empire or not is, for me, a question for the Burmese people to decide. The people of India support the principle of self-determination, and the people of Burma wish to see the same principle applied to them. I do not expect my Indian friends will in any way seek to deny us the privilege for which they themselves ask.

The question has been thoroughly discussed all over Burma. As a matter of fact, Burma came into the Indian Empire by a mere accident, and against the wishes of the Indian people and without the consent of the people of Burma. I say that it came into the Indian Empire against the wishes of the people of India because the Indian National Congress in 1885 passed a resolution opposing the inclusion of Burma in the Indian Empire, and the people of Burma were never consulted as to whether they would care to be in and to remain in the Indian Empire.

However, the question was raised from time to time and came to a head in 1917, when Parliament made its historic pronouncement promising responsible self-government to the Indian Empire. A deputation was sent from Burma to Calcutta to see Mr. Montagu when he was in India, and he was asked by this deputation to separate Burma from India. Later on, when the Government of India Bill was before Parliament in 1919, another deputation was sent, this time to this country, asking for the same thing. Unfortunately, instead of framing a new constitution for Burma in accordance with the wishes of the people of Burma, the then Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Reginald Craddock, framed a very reactionary scheme. The whole country was against that scheme, and again a deputation was sent to this country. The ultimate result was that the reactionary scheme of Sir Reginald Craddock was smashed, and, fearing there would be delay in giving the Reforms, Burma was included in the Indian Empire again as a major Province.

Since then, the feeling of the country has been to press for the same thing, namely the separation of Burma from India, and a series of important events took place in Burma. In the meantime, in 1928 what is known as the All Parties Conference in India laid down a very important principle which is in accordance with the wishes of the people of Burma. In the Report of the All Parties Conference occurs this very significant passage:—"Thus we see that the two most important considerations in re-arranging Provinces are the linguistic principle and the wishes of the majority

or the people. A third consideration, though not of the same importance, is administrative convenience, which would include the geographical position, the economic resources and the financial stability of the area concerned. But administrative convenience is often a matter of arrangement and must as a rule bow to the wishes of the people." The wishes of the people of Burma are that Burma should be separated from India and according to the principles laid down by Indian leaders Burma is entitled to that.

Burma has been suffering for various reasons. As is well known to the Indian people, we have nothing in common with them. Our race belongs to quite a different stock; we are more Mongolian than Aryan. We have customs and manners which are quite different from those of India, and our women are quite as free as any women in this country, if not more so. Literacy in Burma is very high; in fact, the same Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, Sir Reginald Craddock—who is not a true Burman, by the way—said that Burma offered a very good ground for experiment in democratic institutions. I will quote his exact words. He said: "There are features in the social system of Burma which mark it out as *primâ facie* a more promising soil for the introduction of electoral institutions than can be found in India. The widely diffused primary education already mentioned, the emancipated condition of women, the freedom from violent religious antipathies, the great tolerance of the Buddhist religion, the absence of a landed aristocracy, of caste distinctions, and of hereditary occupations—all these are factors which tell strongly in favour of the ultimate success of democratic institutions. The great development of Co-operative Credit Societies and their allied associations is the strongest proof that the organisation of local self-government in rural Burma has been most unduly deferred, and is one of the most pressing wants of our administration." We feel that with all these conditions we are not getting so advanced a form of government as we should have, and in the meantime we find that as a part of the Indian Empire our own national status is disappearing altogether. We are known as Statutory Indians and we do not like to be called Indians, not because we are anti-Indian but because we do not want the Burmese race to disappear from the earth. I hope that feeling will be appreciated by all.

When Sir John Simon and his colleagues visited Burma, in the course of his investigations Sir John put a very pointed question to the seven members of the Burma Legislative Council who co-operated with the Commission. He asked those members whether the feeling in favour of the separation of Burma from India was still strong in Burma, and whether, if a resolution in favour of it was moved before the Burma Legislative Council, it would be carried. Out of those seven members, six answered in the affirmative; the seventh, who represented an Indian constituency, doubted whether it would be carried. I raised the question in the Burma Legislative Council by moving a motion to that effect, which was carried unanimously, thus testifying that it was the

unanimous wish of the people of Burma that Burma should be separated from India without any further delay.

When the Report of the Indian Statutory Commission was published, the people of Burma welcomed the recommendation to separate Burma from India. After that, the present Governor of Burma wished to know whether Burma still held the view that it should be separated from India, and he wanted it to be tested in the Burma Legislative Council. Another resolution to the same effect was accordingly moved, and was carried without a division, showing that we still hold to the view that we should be separated from India.

Now, why do we want to be separated from India? As I have already said, conditions in Burma are very favourable for a great advance in democratic institutions. We want to be a separate entity, enjoying the fullest measure of self-government on an equal footing with the other self-governing Dominions, and of course under the same Crown. That being our aim, we want to get away from India as early as possible. The point where the Indians will be interested is this. What, after separation, will be the position of Indians in Burma? How will their interests be looked after by the new Government of Burma?

In the first place, we have no such thing as communal, religious or caste questions in Burma: all the communities there live very cordially and amicably together. In fact, it will be a surprise to most of those who have not studied the Burmese question to learn that only lately, last October, when we had to return three members to the Legislative Assembly and one to the Council of State, one candidate for the Legislative Assembly, who was a Parsee, not a Burman, was returned by a large majority of Burmese votes, while for the Council of State the gentleman returned was a Muhammadan, who was also returned by Burmese votes. This shows that the people of Burma do not look at race, religion or colour, but at the merits of the people they choose. That has been the case with my old friend Mr. de Glanville, who is the leader of the Independent Party, which consists of Burmans and members of other races, thus showing that race, colour and creed are no bar to leadership in Burma. We have not the acute problem of communal, racial or minority antagonism in Burma, yet for the safety of minorities we are prepared to do all that lies in our power to devise ways and means to protect their interests.

The next point about which the Indians would like to know would be the financial adjustment between India and Burma. I do not know whether this Conference can go into the details, but it seems to me a matter for further inquiry by a special Committee.

The third point is the trade relations between the two countries. As far as possible we want free trade between India and Burma. India wants our rice, our oil, our teak and other timber, and we want things from India. Burma requires manufactured

goods from India, and it is in the interest of both countries not to raise tariff walls against each other. We must live peacefully together and devise ways and means for our mutual benefit. I do not see any difficulty in that direction.

On the whole, the people of Burma are satisfied that Burma should be separated from India without any further delay, providing for the minorities safeguards either in the constitution itself or in the Instructions to the Governor, whichever may be found best to meet the case, and also making reasonable financial adjustments as between India and Burma, and having a Trade Convention between the two countries. On these terms I believe no objection can be raised to our proposal.

The next question with regard to separation is this. The Indian question will be settled by this Conference, and India will have a new constitution in due course. It will be a very undesirable thing for Burma to have a constitution later than India; she must have one at the same time if possible. For that we shall have to work out the financial relations, the trade relations and so on, and we must start work now. Instead of sending a Commission to Burma to raise the same old questions that were raised by the Simon Commission when it visited our country, we think it would be better to have another Conference in London, to which would be invited representatives of the various parties and interests in Burma—some 15 to 20 in all—who would sit here as this Conference sits with the representatives of the British Government. That would economise time, avoid trouble, and be more conducive to the peaceful working out of a constitution for Burma.

I think I have touched on all the important points which I ought to deal with here. I need not go into further details now, but if necessary I am in a position to supply further information. I hope my Indian friends will help us in our request for an early settlement of the question of the separation of Burma from India.

Mr. Chintamani: I desire to say at the outset that, as an Indian, the point of view from which I look at the question of the separation of Burma is this, that the will of the people of Burma should be the sole determining factor in the settlement of the question. If I looked at it from any other point of view—if I thought that the interests of India would be jeopardised by the separation of Burma, and therefore that the interests or the will of Burma should be subordinated to the interests of India—I should be guilty of the same mistake and the same injustice of which we accuse the Imperialists of this country when they proceed to grab the territories of other peoples.

I am glad that the last speaker gave prominence to the resolution passed by the Indian National Congress at its very first session. The Congress opposed the annexation of Burma, and further resolved that, if Burma must be annexed, it should not be amalgamated with British India for administrative purposes

but should be treated as a separate entity. If, therefore, the people of Burma have a grievance, it cannot be against my countrymen, for they were not parties to the invasion of Burma and its annexation but in fact protested against those measures and explicitly urged that Burma should not be made a part of British India.

The ground having been cleared by these preliminary observations, I should like to join issue with the last speaker when he claimed that it was the unanimous opinion of the people of Burma that there must be separation. It may be that a very large majority of the people do wish it, but certainly it is not a unanimous opinion. There have been expressions of opinion to the effect that the separation of Burma from India would be detrimental to the Burmese themselves, and that those Burmans who were agitating for separation were really playing into the hands of the British commercial interests which have been established in that Province, and which would mean that if Burma were not a part of India with all its political agitation, the field of exploitation would be the wider and the easier for them in the future than it might otherwise be.

Next, reference was made to the recommendation made by the Simon Commission. Sir, no particular value attaches to those recommendations or to the authors of those recommendations in my estimation—as it does not in the estimation of any other Nationalist Indian—but there is one particular circumstance in connection with this particular recommendation to which I think it my duty to invite the attention of this Conference. One of the Memoranda submitted to the Simon Commission was practically annexed by the Commissioners as if it were their own, and newspapers in India have been able to print in parallel columns passages from that Memorandum submitted to the Commission and from the report of the Commission—passages which showed that the Commission not only swallowed in its entirety whatever was contained in that Memorandum, but did not even take the trouble of altering the language in which the Memorandum was submitted. We all know that only one body of opinion went before the Simon Commission. Dissident opinion did not find expression before it, taking the country as a whole. I hope this circumstance will be borne in mind when we proceed to assess at its proper value the recommendation that is embodied in the report of the Simon Commission.

There is one more circumstance which is relevant to the present discussion, and I consider it a very regrettable duty that I have to call attention to it. The question whether Burma shall remain a part of British India or shall be separated is a question that has yet to be decided by competent authority. The Government of India have not declared their decision upon the subject. His Majesty's Government, to whom the Government of India is under the present law subordinate, have not yet pronounced any decision, and yet the Governor of Burma has no hesitation in converting

himself into a public propagandist in support of separation. In speech after speech which has been published in the newspapers the Governor of Burma has advocated with superlative vehemence the advantages and the necessity in the interests of Burma of the separation of that Province from British India. It is not my purpose—it is that of the Secretary of State for India—to say how far this action on the part of the Governor of Burma is at all in conformity with the notions of official discipline which are rigidly enforced in my country whenever any of my countrymen happens to be an offending party. But in assessing the value of the agitation in Burma for the separation of that Province, this factor also should be considered, namely, the important and open part which the head of the Government of Burma has played in it.

The next point I wish to emphasise is that if separation be decided upon, an equitable financial adjustment of outstanding claims is an imperative necessity. Every pound of the cost of the third Burmese War was borne by the Indian taxpayer. For as long as the Province of Burma was a deficit province, the deficit was met out of taxation contributed by the people of British India. There was a high officer of Burma, Mr. F. C. Gates, who raised in the old Indian Legislative Council the question whether Burma was a gainer or a loser in a financial sense by its connection with India, and he sought to make out the case that Burma was really relieving the Indian taxpayer to an appreciable extent. His contention was challenged, and very effectively, by Mr. Gokhale—and when I name Mr. Gokhale I need not tell a single member of the assembly that he was not in the habit of making a single unconsidered or untested statement. Mr. Gokhale challenged that statement and expressed the opinion that far from Burma being the loser it was India which was the loser under the financial conditions which then existed.

There is one more point, and that is discriminatory legislation. Although Burma is still administratively part of British India, during the regime of Sir Harcourt Butler legislation was placed on the Statute Book which discriminated against Indians who migrated to Burma and settled in that country, which was penal and prohibitive in its nature, which was insulting, and which led many people to say that while Mr. Sastri and others were worrying over the question of Indians in Kenya, there was a Kenya nearer home which was in a Province of British India itself. When the question of the separation or the continued connection of Burma is considered, this question of the future position of Indians migrating to Burma, and the question of the position of Indians settled in Burma, will also have to be considered.

These are the points which I thought I might, without wasting the time of the Committee, bring to their notice.

Raja Sher Muhammad Khan: I have every sympathy with the desire of those of my friends who desire the separation of Burma from India, and I think the general opinion of this House is

in favour of the separation of Burma from India, but one important question which I would desire should be brought to the attention of this House and of the Committee that is appointed to consider the separation of Burma, is the defence of Burma. The Indian Army is still in Burma, and has served in Burma for two or three centuries. I bring this point to the notice of the Committee because I am afraid that whenever our constitutional framers here want to add to the number of members of any Committee they simply go to the men who have been ex-ministers and barristers. They never think of defence, or of the Army, which questions should certainly be included in any scheme of the separation of Burma from India. That is why I suggest that when the Burmese question is being considered, the Committee must think about the defence of Burma.

Lord Reading: May I first of all endorse what has been said by the opener of the debate. So far as we can judge from all the evidence before us, and indeed from all the reports made, there seems a consensus of opinion in favour of separating Burma from British India. The Simon Commission, after very careful examination into it, came to that conclusion, and I was a little surprised to learn that it was a matter of reproach to a Commission that it has been so impressed by a Memorandum which had been presented to it that it endorsed practically all the proposals of that Memorandum. If I sent a Memorandum in to a Commission and I found that the Commission took almost everything, if not everything, that I said, I think I should be extremely pleased, and I should be much more convinced of the perfect wisdom of that Commission.

One other observation only before I deal with one or two practical points. If I understand Mr. Chintamani aright, some complaint was made of the action of the Governor of Burma, and it was questioned by him whether he had followed a course which was one of constitutional propriety. I happen to know the Governor of that Province, who served as a member of the Executive when I was in India, and I know of his very long and distinguished services in India. It would be difficult indeed to find a man who is more careful of the proprieties of constitutional conduct than Sir Charles Innes, the Governor of Burma. It is unnecessary, and certainly I am not going to waste time, to defend so distinguished a servant upon the point that is made, because I should have thought if there was any ground for the reproach, it was one which would be dealt with by the Viceroy and the Government of India, and if not by them, by the Government at home and not, after all, by this Round Table Conference, which is not charged, so far as I understand it, with entering into a discussion as to the constitutional propriety of speeches which are made by a Governor in India.

May I refer to one other observation of Mr. Chintamani, whose remarks I naturally followed with the greatest care, and with which I am sorry to say for the moment I find myself in a little

disagreement, but I do not think it is anything very material. He said, as I understood him—I am not sure I was right—that the Government of India had expressed no opinion, and that we were waiting for that. Looking at the Report I doubt whether that is really accurate, because I have in my hand the Government of India's Despatch which has been circulated by His Majesty's Government, and of which we all have copies, and, as I understand it, there was no doubt whatever that they did accept in principle the recommendation. They point out that there are difficult matters still to consider. I will only read two sentences, and I would particularly draw Mr. Chintamani's attention to them. I quote from page 84:

“Assuming, therefore, that an equitable financial settlement will be made between the two countries, and that their respective economic interests will be safeguarded by arrangements which we hope may be mutually advantageous, we support in principle the proposal that Burma should now be separated.”

Then they go on to point out that, of course, there are questions to be considered:

“If separation be accepted in principle, the present revision of the whole constitution of government in British India supplies an appropriate occasion for making the change.”

That leads to this; that having endorsed the principle, the Government of India—I do not intend to read passages—drew special attention to certain points, and which I think we have to consider: that is to say, in order to determine what course should be taken by this Conference.

The main purpose of my observations to the Conference is in order to suggest that we should be careful, if we do send this to a Committee, to remember that most of the questions which will have to be considered can never be settled by a Committee of this Round Table Conference. There are questions of finance; there are questions of economics; there are questions relating to the military situation: there are questions affecting strategic positions in Burma; there are questions affecting the Army; there are questions affecting the conditions of Indians in Burma—there are numbers of questions which can only really be settled by, as I should have thought—and I think the Government of India agrees—a special Commission which would have to be set up to deal with them. Indeed I rather understood that the opener of the debate himself favoured that view. A Conference he called it. I do not mind the name: it is quite immaterial; we have exactly the same purpose in mind whatever it is called. It is a meeting of specialists and of selected persons representative of the various interests, who can bring their knowledge and intelligence to bear upon the subject for the purpose of laying down what are the main things which will have to be safeguarded in the constitution of Burma.

The point I want to make—and it is the only matter to which I want to draw attention here now—is that that is a matter which no Committee here can possibly handle, and that it must go to a special Committee. Whether you, Sir, think after this debate, assuming that the Conference were all agreed in regard to the principle that Burma should be separated from India, that any useful purpose would then be served by appointing a Committee, is of course a matter for you and the Conference to consider.

I would suggest that the whole matter should be dealt with quite apart from it, and it would not be necessary to have the authority of this Conference to deal with it. If you had, it could only lay down two or three principles which were suggested by the gentleman who opened the debate. Trade relations and matters of that kind must be dealt with and, equally, care has to be taken in the constitution regarding unfair discrimination, and I was very glad to hear the observations made by Mr. Chintamani, which were very pertinent, and which will have to be borne in mind. If there is agreement, and a Committee were set up, it could do no more than deal with one or two of the main principles referred to in the Government of India Despatch. I think that should be dealt with by a separate Committee.

H.H. The Maharaja of Alwar: Perhaps my Burman colleagues might have least expected that one from the Indian States would rise to speak on a question concerning them, but I am doing so, because in the Simon Commission Report, if there is anything emphatic, anything definite, it is about the separation of Burma. They have definitely suggested that this separation should take place as early as possible. I only want to convey my own sentiments to my Burman colleagues at this Conference, wishing them every success in their endeavours. Let us hope that when they have succeeded in achieving their end, we may have a friendly competition as to which shall reach the Dominion Status first. Perhaps they may even be flirting with a new Secretary of State, because, no doubt, with the separation of Burma they would have another Government here dealing with their affairs. But all I wanted to say was that my sympathies are with them in desiring their nationality to rise to its full stature within their own country. May I therefore express my full sympathy in their request and demand for separation, and I earnestly hope that they will achieve it with full glory and honour.

Lord Peel: I only wish to say one or two very brief words upon this subject, because I myself have a good deal of sympathy with the point of view expressed by the Burmese representative. I am not at all surprised that so wide-minded a statesman as the Maharaja of Alwar has expressed a similar feeling. I spent some little time in Burma last January. One always gains much more from personal observation than from any number of Blue Books. My experience was, during the weeks I spent in Burma, that there

was an extraordinarily strong and widespread desire to be separated from the Indian Empire. Wherever I went, whether the people I was talking to were of high position or not, they said to me, "There is something special I want to say to you." I replied, "I suppose it is that you wish to be separated from India," and that was generally the secret confided to me on these occasions. I was rather surprised to hear this criticism of the Governor of Burma, because apparently the Governor and the Government of Burma did not separate themselves from the almost universal opinion of Burma itself. I should imagine that if the view of the Government of Burma had been the other way we might have heard some criticisms on that subject.

On the practical issues we have before us, I think myself it would be a good thing if this subject were referred to a Committee. I do not say, of course, that a Committee could draw up an elaborate constitution for Burma, but after all we are here with many representatives of India, and as has been intimated in the speech of Mr. Chintamani, this affects not only Burma but Indian interests as well, and therefore the main lines for any criticism that may be made by representative members from India on this question of separation and the subsequent relations with Burma might very well be said here, so that we could be seized of the difficulties of the situation both from an Indian and from a Burmese point of view. It seems to me an eminently useful suggestion that after we have dealt with the subject as far as we can, a Conference, as suggested, might assemble in London to work out the general lines of the framework of the future Burmese constitution. I prefer that to a Commission examining the whole thing. I quite sympathise with the view expressed by the Burmese representatives that if too long delay occurs there will be a hiatus between the establishment of a new Indian constitution and a Burmese. I should support both propositions, that this subject should go at once to a Committee and, secondly, that some sort of Conference should be held as soon as possible.

Chairman: I interpret your feeling as being unanimously in favour of meeting the approach made by the Delegate from Burma. You desire a Committee of this Conference to be set up to consider the matter, that the purpose of that Committee should not be to attempt to draft a constitution for the new Burma, but that it should take note of certain conditions which have to be met in the process of separation; and further, it may assist us by recommending to us how the process should best be carried out, by Committee, Commission or anything else.

I have roughly had put down these terms of reference to the Committee:

"To consider the nature of the conditions which would enable Burma to be separated from India on equitable terms, and to recommend the best way for securing this end."

I take it, first of all, that you wish a Committee to be set up. (General assent.) You want it with the terms of reference which I have read, that these should be the terms of reference to the Committee. (General assent.)

Mr. Shiva Rao: Is the question of separation an open one, or is it not?

Chairman: No, as I look at it, it is not open.

Mr. Chintamani: It should be open not only to consider the method of separation, but whether there should be separation.

Chairman: I have only got eyes and ears for what the Conference says, and I take it that there is an overwhelming opinion in favour of the suggestions made. (Applause.) You see, the applause is all along the line.

H.H. The Maharaja of Bikaner: I only wish to say one word in addition to what has already been said. The general feeling on the part of the Indian States is that this is a question almost entirely for Burma and British India, and, of course, His Majesty's Government, to deal with. If and when any question arises which affects the States I feel sure the States will have a say in the matter. In the meanwhile I simply content myself with stating that we have the most friendly feelings for our Burman friends.

Chairman: You are in favour of that being done? (General assent.)

Lord Reading: That is a separate Committee.

Chairman: Yes.

Committee of Whole Conference.

Pages 188 to 397 contain the discussions in Committee of the Whole of the Reports of the sub-Committees.

Each Report is printed immediately before the discussion which relates to it.

(See paragraph 7 of Introductory Note, page 4.)

Sub-Committee No. 1. (Federal Structure.)

INTERIM REPORT PRESENTED AT THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE CONFERENCE HELD ON 16TH DECEMBER, 1930.

Introductory.

1. The sub-Committee was appointed to consider and report upon the following four of the Heads of discussion which were framed for the Federal Relations Committee:—

No. 1.—The component elements of the Federation.

No. 2.—The type of Federal Legislature and the number of Chambers of which it should consist.

No. 3.—The powers of the Federal Legislature.

No. 6.—The constitution, character, powers and responsibilities of the Federal Executive.

The sub-Committee thought that it would be for the convenience of the Conference to present an Interim Report dealing, in the first instance, with Nos. 1, 2 and 3 above. In view of the large issues raised by No. 6, which cannot be separated from those connected with the relation of the Federal Executive to the Crown (No. 12 of the Heads of discussion), it appeared to the sub-Committee that this Head, on the discussion of which they are proposing immediately to enter, should form the subject of a separate report.

2. The sub-Committee are in a position to report that a most encouraging degree of agreement on the matters comprised in Nos. 1, 2 and 3 has been secured. They recognise that any measure of Federation involves for the States sacrifices in a sphere to which they have always attached the greatest importance for practical reasons as well as on grounds of existing treaties and sentiment. They recognise, on the other hand, the natural hesitation of the representatives of British India to accept any form of constitutional change which might be thought to endanger the unity of British India or those positive advantages which are derived from a uniform body of law and administrative practice. All parties of the sub-Committee were unanimous in preferring the welfare of India as a whole to the individual claims of the interests they represent and in the conviction that only in the larger unity can the diversity of interests and policies be completely harmonised. The sub-Committee are not dismayed by the criticism which may perhaps be made upon their conclusions, that the links between some parts of the Federation and others are but slender. A new State is not born full grown; it must contain within itself the capacity for growth. The attainment of full maturity must depend upon the efforts and devotion of the statesmen of India herself from whatever territory they may come.

The sub-Committee's conclusions are as follows:

CONCLUSIONS.

I. Component elements of Federation.

3. The component elements of the Federation should be on the one hand

(a) the federating Provinces of British India, and on the other hand,

(b) such Indian States or groups of States as may enter the Federation. Provision should be made for the subsequent entry from time to time of such further States or groups of States as agree to enter the Federation.

The important question of the position of the Crown will require further examination when the relation of the Federal Executive to the Crown is discussed.

4. So far as British India is concerned, the federating organism will be neither the Government of British India as it exists at present, nor autonomous Provinces released from the central tie. The process of Federation will involve the creation of a new State which will derive its powers

(a) in part from the powers which the States will agree to concede to the Crown, to be placed at the disposal of the new Federation; and

(b) in part from the transfer to it of such of the powers of the Central Indian Government (and also it may be of the Provincial Governments) as may be agreed to be necessary for the purposes of the Federation.

II. Type of Federal Legislature and the number of Chambers of which it should consist.

5. The Federal Legislature should consist of two Chambers, each containing representatives of both British India and the States (the proportion which the representatives of British India and of the States should bear to each other will be a matter for subsequent consideration under Heads not yet referred to the sub-Committee).

6. The method whereby the representatives of British India are to be chosen was not referred to this sub-Committee, but Their Highnesses made it clear that in their opinion the method by which the States' representatives should be chosen will be a matter for the States themselves. If and so long as there are any reserved subjects it will be necessary for the Crown to be represented in both Chambers.

7. Differences between the two Chambers might be determined either at a joint session or by other means, by vote, whether by a bare majority or otherwise being a question for discussion at a later stage.

III. Powers of the Federal Legislature.

8. A list of subjects provisionally recommended as Federal subjects is appended. This list is framed on the assumption that the Federal Legislature will be clothed with power to legislate upon all the subjects included in it. The inclusion of certain subject, e.g., Defence and External Affairs, was not specifically considered, since these subjects in particular, though not exclusively, raise the question of the relations between the Executive in India and the Crown—a matter not within the sub-Committee's Terms of Reference. It is of the essence of a Federal constitution that the enactments of the Federal Legislature acting within its legal scope should have full force and effect throughout all units comprised in the Federation.

9. Provision should be made by some constitutional procedure for additions from time to time to the list of Federal subjects.

10. In relation to Federal subjects a distinction is to be drawn between policy and legislation on the one hand and administration on the other. In some Federal systems there is a complete separation between Federal and State agency in the administrative as well as the legislative sphere, but in others the administration is entrusted, subject to certain Federal rights of inspection, etc., to the State authorities. The choice is a matter of convenience rather than of principle, depending upon conditions existing at the time of Federation and the practical advantage or disadvantage of disturbing the *status quo*. For a variety of reasons there are cases in which States may desire to retain, in those matters in which they agree that the control of policy shall be federal, most of the administrative powers which they exercise at present, but in so far as they continue to exercise those powers, they will do so in conformity with a policy jointly determined and with regulations jointly formulated. Provided that the conditions for a harmonious evolution are established, it is an advantage that there should be a minimum of disturbance in the practical arrangements which already operate.

11. The precise delimitation of the functions of the Federal and State Governments respectively in these spheres will be a matter for settlement in respect of each subject by negotiation.

12. The sub-Committee are strongly of opinion that there should be only a single Legislature to deal with Federal subjects proper and with any subjects which cannot at present be either federalised or completely provincialised. Such a Legislature will no doubt contain representatives of units of the Federation which will not be concerned with some of the subjects with which it deals. But the partial acceptance of this anomaly is preferable to the difficulties and complications involved in any expedient for completely avoiding it, such as the creation of a separate British Indian Legislature with a separate Executive. How to deal with this anomaly will have to be considered at a later stage.

St. James's Palace,
London,
12th December, 1930.

APPENDIX TO INTERIM REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE No. 1.

Schedule of Subjects provisionally agreed to as "Federal" with notes.

N.B.—The enumeration is that of the present list of Central Subjects—Devolution Rules, Schedule I.

Notes.

5. Communications to the extent described under the following Heads, namely:—

(a) Railways (including railways to be constructed or acquired in future).

(b) Aircraft and all matters connected therewith.

(c) Inland waterways.

Policy and Legislation to be Federal. Administration to be Federal to the extent of powers now exercised by the Railway Board.

Federal.

Policy and Legislation to be Federal in respect of inland waterways affecting more than one unit.

Federal for Legislation and policy.

6. Shipping and navigation, including shipping and navigation on inland waterways in so far as declared to be a Federal subject in accordance with entry 5 (c).

7. Lighthouses (including their approaches), beacons, lightships and buoys.

Federal.

8. Port quarantine

Federal so far as international requirements are concerned.

9. Ports

Such ports to be Federal as are declared to be major ports by rule made by Federal Government or by or under Legislation by the Federal Legislature, subject in the case of Indian States to such extent as authority may be delegated by the States under a convention.

10. Posts, telegraphs, trunk telephones and wireless installations.

Federal; but with such qualifications as may be necessary for the purposes of adjustment with the States in matters of detail.

11. Customs and salt

Salt: Federal. Maritime Customs: Federal, subject to special adjustments with Maritime States having regard to their treaties, agreements and engagements, Customs on external frontiers of Federal India to be Federal on the lines of maritime customs subject to the special case of Kashmir.

12. Currency and coinage . . .

Federal, subject to adjustment with the States concerned of such rights as are not already conceded by them.

Notes.

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| 13. Public Debt of Federal India.
(Power to raise Federal loans). | Federal. |
| 14. Savings banks | Federal for policy and legislation regarding Post Office Savings banks. |
| 15. Federal Audit | Federal. |
| 17. Commerce, including banking and insurance. | Federal for policy and legislation. |
| 18. Trading companies and other associations. | Federal for policy and legislation. |
| 20. Development of Industries . | Development of Industries to be a Federal subject in cases where such development by Federal authority is declared by order of Federal Government, made after negotiation with and consent of the federating units. |
| 21. Control of cultivation and manufacture of opium, and sale of opium for export. | Federal for policy and legislation. |
| 22. Stores and stationery, both imported and indigenous, required for Federal Departments. | Federal. |
| 23. Control of petroleum and explosives. | Federal for policy and legislation. |
| 24. Geological Survey of India . | Federal. |
| 26. Botanical Survey of India . | Federal. |
| 27. Inventions and designs . . | Federal for policy and legislation. |
| 28. Copyright | Federal for policy and legislation. |
| 29. Emigration from, and immigration into, India. | Federal. |
| 31. Federal police organisation . | Federal. |
| 32. Traffic in arms and ammunition | Federal for policy and legislation. |
| 33. Central agencies and institutions for research (including observatories) and for professional and technical training or promotion of special studies. | Federal as regards future agencies and institutions. |
| 35. Survey of India | Federal. |
| 38. Meteorology | Federal. |
| 39. Census | Federal for policy and legislation the States reserving administration. |
| 39A. All-India statistics | Federal. |
| 40. Federal services | Federal. |
| 44. Immovable property acquired and maintained at the cost of the Federal Government. | Federal. |
| 45. The Public Service Commission | Federal for the purpose of Federal services. |

COMMENTS IN COMMITTEE OF WHOLE CONFERENCE (16TH DECEMBER, 1930) ON INTERIM REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE NO. I (FEDERAL STRUCTURE).

Chairman : Paragraph 1 is a matter of procedure. You will note paragraph 2, and in the following paragraph there are set out the component elements of Federation. What is set out there is just the facts. Certain suggestions are made, and we will take note of them all.

(The Chairman then read the numbers of the paragraphs down to No. 12, all of which were noted without discussion. He then similarly read the schedule of subjects in the Appendix from No. 5 to No. 11.)

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad : With regard to No. 11, we have " Salt : Federal. Maritime Customs : Federal, subject to special adjustments with maritime States having regard to their treaties ". The difficulty is that some of these are called treaties and others are called agreements and engagements. We ought to have the words, " Treaties, agreements, and engagements ".

Lord Sankey : I will accept those words.

Chairman : We, as a Committee must not alter the Report, but the Chairman of a sub-Committee may accept an alteration on behalf of his sub-Committee, and Lord Sankey does so. We note No. 11 in the Appendix as amended with the consent of the Chairman of the sub-Committee.

(The Chairman then read Nos. 12 to 45, and all were noted without comment.)

Sir Prabhasankar Pattani : I should like to draw your attention, Sir, to the fact that the Princes are absent, and these matters have been noted in their absence.

Chairman : That will also be noted.

Dr. Ambedkar : I should like to raise the point which my friend Mr. Joshi made before we adjourned. The Lord Chancellor, as the Chairman of this sub-Committee, invited some of the Delegates to submit any views they might have on these particular matters, and a few Delegates including myself submitted a letter to the Chairman of the sub-Committee, and expressed our wish that that letter should be submitted to the sub-Committee for consideration. I do not find in the Report any reference to that letter, and I was informed by Lord Sankey that that letter was not placed before the sub-Committee, but was sent to you, Sir, as Prime Minister. I do not think that that was quite a proper way of dealing with it. The letter was submitted to the Chairman of the sub-Committee,

for the sub-Committee's use, and it expressed certain definite views we held on the question of Federation. I am bound to make this comment because, speaking for myself, the Report as drawn up is so much at variance with the principles expressed in the letter that I find we shall have at some stage to raise a debate on this question, and I should like to know what steps the Lord Chancellor proposes to take.

Lord Sankey: I am very much obliged to Dr. Ambedkar for raising the point he has done, because I should have like to have raised it myself, and it gives me the opportunity of saying a few words which I should have said at the beginning. First of all, I should like to thank my Committee for the very great help and consideration they have shown me. We had a very difficult task, and my task as Chairman was a difficult one, but I have never had such a pleasant task, and I could not have had a better Committee to assist me.

I want to say a word or two about the Report which you have in your hands. Gentlemen, would you mind looking at that picture (*Morier's painting of George II on horseback*). I do not suppose the artist painted the man and the horse at the same time. One of these has to be painted after the other, and if you had been invited to the studio at the time when he had only painted the horse and had not painted the man you would not have been able to express a satisfactory opinion of the whole picture. I have invited you to come to the "studio" to-day, but you are only looking on the "horse" in the picture. Soon you are going to be presented with the complete picture, and then, Dr. Ambedkar, I shall want your assistance.

The four questions referred to us were (1) the component elements of the Federation; (2) the type of Federal Legislature and the number of Chambers of which it should consist, and (3) the powers of the Legislature. But the most important question is one we still have to discuss, namely, the constitution, character, powers and responsibilities of the Federal Executive. Everything depends upon that. The work done with regard to the first three questions may have to be modified or revised when we come to our final report upon No. 6.

Now with regard to that letter, Dr. Ambedkar, that you were good enough to send to me. I have considered it very carefully, and it will be vital to discuss it when we come to No. 6.

Dr. Ambedkar: All I should like to know, if I may say so, is whether you will place that letter before the Committee. At what stage you may do so is a matter which I must leave to you.

Lord Sankey: One moment. Dr. Ambedkar. I am going to do a good deal more than that; I am not only going to place your letter before the Committee; I am going to draw the Committee's attention to it myself.

Dr. Ambedkar: I am obliged. That is enough for me.

Lord Sankey: One moment. I have not finished. When you are as old as I am, you will not be in such a hurry. Instead of having to do the job myself, I personally should very much like the gentlemen who presented the letter to come and do the job. If I have to do it myself, I shall not do it as well as you gentlemen would. But I will do this: not a word of the letter shall be left out; but it is not quite the time to consider it yet, because it must be considered at that important time when we come to No. 6.

May I say just one other thing before I sit down. While I am anxious that every one of you should be safe and secure and have your rights, I am not here for any particular party; I am here for India, and my ambition is that we should go away from this Conference and that you should have something to take back to India. With a little patience you shall have something to take back to India. My ambition for India—let me repeat it for the first and last time—is that we should not have these unhappy divisions, but that we should see an India, as the result of this Conference, companioned by content and prosperity.

Sir Phiroze Sethna: May I ask a question with regard to the items which appear in the Appendix. They are evidently drawn from the Devolution Rules, under the heading of Central subjects.

Lord Sankey: Quite right.

Sir Phiroze Sethna: But in the present Devolution Rules there are several subjects under the heading of Provincial Subjects which are subject to legislation by the Central Government. May I ask whether these are to hand yet, because there is no reference to them now.

Lord Sankey: The answer to that question is three-fold:—(1) they are not yet taken in hand; (2) they will be taken in hand, because to some extent we shall have to consider them when we come to the Executive question; (3) it may be necessary—I do not say it will—to have a joint meeting of the Provincial Committee and my Committee. They shall be.

Chairman: That is all noted.

Sub-Committee No. 1. (Federal Structure.)

SECOND REPORT, PRESENTED AT THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE
OF THE WHOLE CONFERENCE HELD ON 15TH JANUARY, 1931.

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1. *Introductory*.—The sub-Committee consisted of the following members:—

British Delegations:—

The Lord Chancellor (*Chairman*).
 Mr. Lees Smith, M.P.
 The Earl Peel.
 The Right Hon. Sir Samuel Hoare, Bart., M.P.
 The Marquess of Reading.
 The Marquess of Lothian.

Indian States Delegation :—

H. H. The Maharaja of Bikaner.
 H. H. The Nawab of Bhopal.
 Nawab Sir Muhammad Akbar Hydari, Hyderabad.
 Sir Mirza M. Ismail, Mysore.
 Colonel Haksar, Special Organisation, Chamber of Princes.

British India Delegation :—

The Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, Madras.
 Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Madras.
 Diwan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliyar, Madras.
 Mr. Jayakar, Bombay.
 Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Bombay.
 Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, United Provinces.
 Mr. T. F. Gavin Jones, United Provinces.
 Sir Muhammad Shafi, Punjab.
 Sardar Sahib Ujjal Singh, Punjab.
 Sir Sayed Sultan Ahmed, Bihar and Orissa.

In addition, Sir B. N. Mitra attended most of the meetings of the sub-Committee and gave it the benefit of his advice and assistance.

2. It must be clearly understood that although agreement has been reached by a majority of the sub-Committee on many important matters, such agreement is only provisional, and every member followed the example of Lord Reading, who said that the understanding had been from the outset that it would be open to all members, when they came to consider the complete proposals for the Federal constitution, to modify or change any provisional assent they might have hitherto given. Every member of the sub-Committee reserves to himself the right of modifying his opinion before the final picture is completed. This is the attitude of British and Indian members alike. Over and above that, upon the basic

assumption set out in paragraph 8, Lord Peel and Sir Samuel Hoare, with the information at their disposal, and with so many questions still undecided, are unconvinced that the kind of Executive envisaged in this Report can be successfully adapted to the special conditions of an All-India Federation. They, therefore, desire to see further explored methods for increasing Indian control over the Federal Government that are better suited to All-India needs than those founded upon British precedents. Apart from this Lord Peel and Sir Samuel Hoare are not satisfied that the safeguards recommended for securing Imperial obligations will prove effective, and, in particular, they fear that the financial proposals outlined in paragraphs 18 to 22 inclusive will disturb the confidence of the commercial classes and impair the stability of Indian credit. They wish, however, to place on record their appreciation of the progress that has been made in the elucidation of a contentious and difficult problem, and their readiness to co-operate with sympathetic and unprejudiced minds in its further investigation.

Upon the question of finance, Indian opinion was that even the safeguards set out in the Report went too far, especially those giving special powers to the Governor-General.

3. The vexed Hindu-Muslim question was referred to by Sir Muhammad Shafi on behalf of the Muslim Delegation, and he made it clear that as far as he was concerned he could not consent finally to frame any constitution unless the Hindu-Muslim question was settled. To this view Mr. Jinnah gave his adherence, on the ground that no constitution would work unless it embodied provisions which gave a sense of security to the Muslims and other minorities. He further objected to some details of the Report. Other Delegates, again, stated that their final opinion upon details was not yet formed, and that they desired, before they came to a conclusion, to ascertain public opinion upon such details, both in India and in England.

4. The Indian States do not desire either to discuss or vote upon questions which concern British India alone, and are of opinion that these questions should be definitely excluded. Nor do the Indian States contemplate that any question of paramountcy will come at any time within the purview of the Federal Government.

The sub-Committee publish the Report subject to these reservations.

5. In their interim Report of 12th December, the sub-Committee indicated their view of the component elements of the Federation, which is contemplated as the future polity for India, and recommended that these elements should be represented in both Chambers of a bicameral Federal Legislature. They also put forward a provisional list (which is reproduced in the Appendices referred to in paragraph 37 of this Report) of the subjects upon which this Legislature should be empowered to pass laws having application throughout all units comprised in the Federation. In a later part of the present Report it will be the duty of the sub-

Committee to supplement the provisional recommendations thus made with regard to the competence of the Federal Legislature. There are some matters which, although the Federal Government and Legislature will not at present have jurisdiction in respect of them in the Indian States, will none the less require co-ordination in the areas comprised by the British Indian units of the Federation. These subjects also are indicated in the Appendices referred to in paragraph 37 of this Report. The sub-Committee desire in this connection to emphasise once more the conviction, to which they gave expression in paragraph 12 of their previous Report, that it is the Federal Legislature itself which should perform this co-ordinating function. Their reasons for this view are in part the desire to avoid the inevitable complexities which would arise from setting up a separate authority to deal with subjects not completely federalised, but an even more important reason is that it is, in the sub-Committee's opinion, essential to the development of the Federal idea that the new constitution should contain within itself facilities for its own development, and that nothing should be done in designing the structure embodying it which would be calculated to hamper the natural evolution of a Greater India.

The further Heads which were referred to the sub-Committee and are now under discussion are:—

(4) *The number of members composing each Chamber of the Federal Legislature, and their distribution among the federating units;*

(5) *The method whereby representatives from British India and from the Indian States are to be chosen; and*

(6) *The constitution, character, powers and responsibilities of the Federal Executive.*

These three Heads the sub-Committee now proceed to discuss.

6. The sub-Committee do not, of course, claim to have evolved in all its details a complete plan for the Federal constitution. They consider that the best service they can render to the Conference is to state certain general principles and record conclusions on certain points with regard to which there appeared to be general or substantial agreement, and then to indicate the lines which further detailed examination on the subject ought, in their view, to follow. Many points have necessarily been left open which will have to be settled later after public opinion both in India and in England has had an opportunity of expressing itself upon them. in order that the completed constitution may be based on the largest measure of public approval in both countries.

THE EXECUTIVE.

7. The sub-Committee consider that it will be convenient to deal, in the first instance, with the last of the three Heads, namely:

Head (6). The composition, character, powers and responsibility of the Federal Executive; since, as was more than once

pointed out in the course of their deliberations, the view taken upon these matters may materially affect decisions upon the structure of the Legislature, the nature of its functions and the methods adopted for enabling these functions to be performed.

8. *Responsibility of the Executive.*—The Report which follows proceeds on the basic assumption that the constitution will recognise the principle that, subject to certain special provisions more particularly specified hereafter, the responsibility for the Federal Government of India will in future rest upon Indians themselves.

9. *Method of providing for this.*—In the opinion of the sub-Committee the proper method of giving effect to this principle is, following the precedent of all the Dominion constitutions,* to provide that executive power and authority shall vest in the Crown, or in the Governor-General as representing the Crown, and that there shall be a Council of Ministers appointed by the Governor-General and holding office at his pleasure to aid and advise him. The Governor-General's Instrument of Instructions will then direct him to appoint as his Ministers those persons who command the confidence of the Legislature, and the Governor-General, in complying with this direction, will, of course, follow the convention firmly established in constitutional practice throughout the British Commonwealth of inviting one Minister to form a Government and requesting him to submit a list of his proposed colleagues.

10. *Definition of Responsibility.*—The Governor-General, having thus chosen as his Ministers persons who possess the confidence of the Legislature, it follows that they will retain office only so long as they retain that confidence. This is what the sub-Committee understand by the responsibility of Government to Legislature, in the sense in which that expression is used throughout the British Commonwealth. The expression also implies in their view that the ministry are responsible collectively and not as individuals, and that they stand or fall together.

11. *Safeguards.*—It is, however, admitted that this broad statement of the principle of responsible government at the Centre, which will be the ultimate achievement of the constitution now to be framed, requires some qualification. There was general agreement in the sub-Committee that the assumption by India of all the powers and responsibility which have hitherto rested on Parliament cannot be made at one step and that, during a period of transition—

(i) The Governor-General shall be responsible for Defence and External Relations (including relations with the Indian States outside the federal sphere) and that

(ii) in certain situations, hereafter specified, which may arise outside the sphere of those subjects, the Governor-General must be at liberty to act on his own responsibility, and must be given the powers necessary to implement his decisions.

* e.g., Ss. 9 to 11 of the British North America Act, 1867;
Ss. 8 and 9 of the Union of South Africa Act, 1903;
Ss. 61 and 62 of the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution, 1900.

12. *Governor-General's advisers on reserved subjects.*—It was generally agreed that the presence of a person occupying the position of a Minister would be necessary to express the views of the Governor-General on Defence matters in the Legislature, since these will impinge upon strictly federal matters; the same is true of External Relations but there was not an equal measure of agreement with regard to the appointment of a person to represent the Viceroy in this latter subject. It is clear, however, that the Governor-General must be at liberty to select as his representatives in the reserved sphere any persons whom he may himself choose as best fitted for the purpose, and that on appointment they would, if holding Ministerial portfolios, acquire the right like other Ministers of audience in either Chamber of the Legislature. The suggestion was pressed that any persons so appointed should be regarded as ordinary members of the Council of Ministers, notwithstanding that they would be responsible to the Governor-General and not to the Legislature, and that they should be regarded as liable to dismissal (though they would remain eligible for re-appointment by the Governor-General) with the rest of their colleagues. It is difficult, however, to see how this position could be reconciled with the principle of the collective responsibility of Ministers, and the sub-Committee find themselves unable to come to any definite conclusions on the matter, though they are of opinion that it merits much more careful examination than they have, in the time at their disposal, been able to give to it.

13. *Position of the Governor-General in relation to his Cabinet.*—With this subject is to some degree involved the question of whether the Governor-General should himself preside over the meetings of his Ministers. In the view of the sub-Committee no hard and fast rule can be laid down. It is clear that, especially in the transition period, occasions may often arise in which his presence would be desirable, and indeed, in certain contingencies, necessary. In these circumstances, it appears to the sub-Committee that the better course would be to provide in his Instructions that he shall preside when he thinks it desirable to do so, leaving the matter to his own discretion and good sense. It is, however, essential that the Governor-General shall be kept at all times fully informed of the state of public affairs and have the right to call for any papers or information which are at his Ministers' disposal.

14. *Governor-General's powers in relation to reserved subjects.*—It follows from the fact that the Governor-General will be himself responsible for the administration of the reserved subjects described above, that he should not be dependent for the supply required for them upon the assent of the Legislature, and that the annual supply for their service should be treated, along with other matters to be presently specified, in a manner analogous to the Consolidated Fund Charges in the United Kingdom. The budget allotment would be settled upon a contract basis for a term of years. It would further be necessary to empower the Governor-General in the last resort to take such steps as may be necessary to ensure that the funds required for the reserved subjects are forthcoming, and also to secure emer-

gency supply for these subjects in excess of the contract budget (e.g., in connection with a sudden outbreak of hostilities on the frontier). It follows that he should be empowered to secure the enactment of such legislative measures as may be essential for the discharge of his responsibility for these subjects.

15. The sub-Committee anticipate that in the event of its becoming necessary to use these powers the Governor-General would not ordinarily do so without consulting his Ministers, even though the responsibility for any action taken will be his and not theirs.

16. *Governor-General's special power.*—With regard to subjects in the administration of which the Governor-General would normally act on the advice of his Ministers, it was generally agreed that arrangements must be made whereby in the last resort the peace and tranquillity of any part of the country must be secured, serious prejudice to the interests of any section of the population must be avoided, and members of the Public Services must be secured in any rights guaranteed to them by the constitution. It was further agreed that for these purposes the Governor-General must be empowered to act in responsibility to Parliament and to implement his decisions if occasion so demands by requiring appropriation of revenue to be made, or by legislative enactment.

17. *Use of the Governor-General's special powers.*—Stress was laid in some quarters of the sub-Committee on the necessity of so defining the use of these powers that they should not be brought into play, in derogation of the responsibility of Ministers, for the purpose of day-to-day administration. It is obvious that the Governor-General would consider his relations with his Ministers and the Legislature before making use of these powers. He will have every inducement to stay his hand as long as possible and to be slow to use his own powers in such a way as to enable his Ministers to cast upon him a responsibility which is properly theirs.

18. *Finance. Special provisions.*—In the sphere of Finance, the sub-Committee regard it as a fundamental condition of the success of the new constitution that no room should be left for doubts as to the ability of India to maintain her financial stability and credit, both at home and abroad. It would therefore be necessary to reserve to the Governor-General in regard to budgetary arrangements and borrowing such essential powers as would enable him to intervene if methods were being pursued which would, in his opinion, seriously prejudice the credit of India in the money markets of the world. The sub-Committee recommend, with a view to ensuring confidence in the management of Indian credit and currency, that efforts should be made to establish on sure foundations and free from any political influence, as early as may be found possible, a Reserve Bank, which will be entrusted with the management of the currency and exchange. With the same object again, provision should be made requiring the Governor-General's previous sanction to the introduction of a Bill to amend the Paper Currency or Coinage Acts on the lines of Section 67 of the Government of India Act. They are further agreed that the service of

loans, with adequate provision for redemption, by Sinking Funds or otherwise, and the salaries and pensions of persons appointed on guarantees given by the Secretary of State, should be secured, along with the supply required for the Reserved Departments, as Consolidated Fund Charges.

19. With these limitations the sub-Committee do not contemplate any differentiation between the position of the Finance Minister and that of any other Minister responsible to the Legislature, and in regard to taxation, fiscal policy and expenditure on objects other than those under the Governor-General's control, he would be responsible only to the Legislature. In this connection the sub-Committee take note of the proposal that a Statutory Railway Authority should be established, and are of opinion that this should be done, if after expert examination this course seems desirable.

20. The sub-Committee recognise that it may be difficult in existing conditions to set up a Reserve Bank of sufficient strength and equipped with the necessary gold and sterling reserves immediately, and that, therefore, until this has been done some special provisions will be found necessary to secure to the Governor-General adequate control over monetary policy and currency.

21. *Governor-General's ordinary powers.*—The sub-Committee assume that in addition to the special powers indicated above the Governor-General will continue to have, as at present, the right of refusing his assent to legislative measures, and of returning a Bill for reconsideration, and, subject to any Instructions issued to the Governor-General, that the existing powers of reservation and disallowance will remain.

22. *Bills affecting religion and Commercial discrimination.*—The question whether Bills relating to such matters as the religion or religious rites and usages of any class of the community should require the Governor-General's previous sanction to introduction will require consideration, as will also the question of discrimination between different sections of the community in matters of trade and commerce. There was general agreement that in these matters the principle of equality of treatment ought to be established, and various methods were suggested for the purpose. The sub-Committee content themselves, however, with saying that it is one which should be further examined and discussed in consultation with the various interests concerned.

23. *Breakdown of Constitution.*—In the event of a situation unhappily arising in which persistent and concerted action has succeeded in making the constitution unworkable, adequate powers will have to be vested in the Governor-General for the purpose of enabling the King's Government to be carried on.

THE LEGISLATURE.

STRUCTURE AND COMPOSITION.

24. Such being their views as to the character and responsibility

of the Executive, the sub-Committee are now in a position to consider in relation to these views—

(4) *the number of members composing each Chamber of the Federal Legislature; and their distribution among the federating units; and*

(5) *the method whereby the representatives from British India and from the Indian States are to be chosen.*

25. *General Principles.*—The general aim of Federal constitutions has been to provide one legislative chamber which represents primarily all the federating units as such, often on a basis of equal representation for each unit, and a lower chamber which represents, primarily, the population of the whole federal area: and in applying this plan, constitution-makers have commonly provided that the representatives of the federating units in the distinctively federal chamber shall be chosen by the Governments or Legislatures of those units, while the representatives of the population of the federal area shall be returned by some more popular form of election: it has commonly been provided further that the distinctively federal chamber should be the smaller of the two. But India's own practical needs and conditions must be the governing factors, and no constitution, however theoretically perfect, and however closely modelled upon precedents adopted elsewhere, is likely to survive the tests of experience unless it conforms to the needs and genius of the country which adopts it, and unless it is capable of adaptation and modification as the character of these needs is proved in the working. To meet these needs the federal organisation must be conceived not as a rivalry of conflicting elements, but as a partnership for the devising and efficient application by common consent of policies required in the common interest. For such a partnership the stability of the Federal Government is of the first importance.

26. *The Upper Chamber.*—The discussion which took place in the sub-Committee on Heads 4 and 5 proceeded without any prior decision upon the all-important question of the relations between, and the respective powers of, the two chambers; and it may well be that some of the opinions now provisionally expressed will require revision. But proceeding simply on the basis that there will be two Chambers, the Upper smaller in size than the Lower, and without any decision as to the relations of one to the other, the balance of opinion was to the effect that the Upper Chamber—which might be described as the Senate—of the Federal Legislature should be a small body, of from 100 to 150 members, whose qualifications should be such as will ensure that it is a body of weight, experience and character. It was thought that this object might be secured by prescribing for the candidature of the British India members qualifications similar to those now in force for the Council of State: and the sub-Committee have no doubt that the Rulers of the Indian States, in selecting their representatives, will ensure that they are persons of similar standing.

Method of election to Upper Chamber.—The sub-Committee are almost unanimously of opinion that the British Indian members of the Senate should be elected by the provincial legislatures, by the single transferable vote.

27. Life of the Upper Chamber.—The Senate itself should not be subject to dissolution like the Lower House, but a fixed proportion of its members would retire and be replaced (or re-elected as the case may be) at regular periods.

28. Distribution of Seats in Upper Chamber.—As regards the distribution of seats in the Senate between the States and British India respectively, the sub-Committee have to report a difference of view. The States representatives on the sub-Committee pressed strongly for equality of distribution as between the States and British India. The British Indian representatives, on the other hand, were disposed to claim, on such grounds as area and population, a preponderance of seats for British India; but though opinions differed as to the precise degree of "weightage" to be conceded to the States, the sub-Committee are unanimous that some "weightage" must be given, and that a distribution of seats as between the States and British India on a strict population ratio would neither be defensible in theory nor desirable in practice. The sub-Committee trust that if the Conference fails to reach unanimity on this point, a satisfactory solution may yet be found as the result of discussion and accommodation hereafter.

29. Distribution of Seats in Upper Chamber between Provinces.—Granted a solution of this question, it has still to be considered how the seats available to the States and British India respectively are to be distributed amongst the individual units of each class. So far as the States are concerned, this must clearly be a matter for agreement by their Rulers in consultation between themselves and, if necessary, with the Viceroy. Difficult problems of grouping are involved, but these matters are outside the scope of the Conference. As regards the Provinces, precedents of other Federal constitutions could no doubt be cited in favour of complete equality as between Province and Province, and there was some opinion in the sub-Committee in favour of this plan. But while the opportunity should no doubt be taken for departing from the traditional apportionment as between Province and Province which has survived in the Chambers of the existing Indian Legislature, the sub-Committee are doubtful whether an arrangement which gave, for instance, to Assam with its $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions of inhabitants, and Bengal with its $46\frac{1}{2}$ millions, an equal voice in the counsels of the Nation, would commend itself to general public opinion. On the whole the sub-Committee would be disposed to regard a distribution as between Province and Province on a population ratio as the most convenient and satisfactory arrangement.

30. The Lower Chamber—Size.—The trend of opinion as to the size of the Lower Chamber was that it should consist of approximately 300 members, thus providing roughly one representative for

each million of the inhabitants of India. On the other hand the view was strongly expressed that the requirements of efficiency would not be met if the Chamber were to exceed 200 as a maximum. The sub-Committee as a whole recognise the force of these considerations, and also of the desire for a Chamber of sufficient size to afford a reasonable approach to adequate representation of the population. But since no real approach to this latter ideal could be secured without enlarging the Legislature to an undue extent, the sub-Committee think that having regard to the great importance which must be attached to efficiency of working, 250 should be adopted as the number of seats to be provided in the Lower Chamber.

31. *Distribution of Seats in the Lower Chamber.*—In the Lower Chamber the Indian States Delegation do not claim, as they do in the Senate, equality of representation with British India, but here also they claim some greater representation than they would obtain on a strict population ratio. The British Indian representatives on the sub-Committee were not, however, disposed to contemplate a distribution as between themselves and the States in this Chamber on any other basis than that of population. On this basis approximately 76 per cent. of the seats would be assigned to British India and 24 per cent. to the States. But while the latter view must be recorded as that of the majority of the sub-Committee, a substantial minority would regard so great a disparity between the two classes of units as inconsistent with and inimical to the ideal which the Conference has set before itself, and the minority wish strongly to urge upon their colleagues the desirability of subordinating theory to expediency in the interests of goodwill. No Conference can hope to bear fruit unless its members approach their task in a spirit of accommodation, and accommodation in this matter is, they are confident, not beyond the reach of Indian statesmanship.

The question of the respective powers of the two Chambers, which has been touched upon in para. 26 has also an obvious bearing on the matter.

32. *Method of election to Lower Chamber.*—Here again the sub-Committee regret that they are unable to record a unanimous view. The British Indian representatives almost without exception favour direct election by constituencies arranged on a plan generally similar to that of the "general constituencies" for the existing Legislative Assembly. They maintain that this method of election has not proved in practice inconvenient or unworkable, that such inconvenience as it has hitherto presented will be diminished with the increase which they contemplate in the number of seats available and the consequent decrease in the size of constituencies, that ten years' experience has firmly established it in popular favour, and that resort to any method of indirect election would not be accepted by Indian public opinion. Other members of the sub-Committee are unable to contemplate as a fitting repository of power and responsibility a Chamber whose members would have so exiguous a link between themselves and the population of the

areas they would purport to represent as would be provided by any system of direct election. Assuming for the sake of argument that as many as 200 seats were available for British Indian representatives, they note that the average size of a constituency would be some 4,000 square miles, and that if due allowance is made for the comparatively small areas of the urban constituencies, the general average would be even higher. They note that the Franchise sub-Committee have refrained from making any recommendation on the franchise for the Federal Legislature: consequently they cannot bring themselves to regard as popular representation according to the accepted canons of parliamentary government a system which provides for the "election" of members by an average number of some 5,000 electors scattered over an average area of some 4,000 square miles, and this difficulty would not be removed by an increase in the average number of electors by a lowering of the franchise; for an increase in the number of the voters in such vast constituencies would merely increase the difficulties of establishing contact between the candidate and the voter. But apart from these practical difficulties, some members of the sub-Committee feel strongly that, in the geographical conditions of India, any system of direct election would seriously prejudice the success of the Federal ideal. In their view it is of the utmost importance that the tie between the Centre and the units should be as closely knit as possible; and that it should be a tie of natural affinity of outlook and interest and capable of counteracting the centrifugal tendencies which, but for such a counterpoise, will be liable to develop in the Provinces from the increased autonomy now in prospect. In the opinion of those who hold this view the only satisfactory basis for representation in either Chamber of the Federal Legislature is election by the Legislatures of the Provinces. This need not involve the mere reproduction of the Lower Chamber on a smaller scale, if, as is suggested in this Report, special qualifications are prescribed for membership of the Senate. But if this plan is not adopted, and the view prevails that the members of the Assembly should be chosen to represent the populations of the units rather than their Governments or Legislatures, those members of the sub-Committee who are opposed to direct election desire to point out that it is not a necessary consequence of a decision in this sense that the populations of the areas should elect their representatives directly. Various devices are known to constitution-makers as alternatives to direct election, and they would strongly urge that every possible alternative should be explored before a final decision is taken.

33. *Life of the Lower Chamber.*—The sub-Committee are of opinion that the term of the Lower Chamber should be five years, unless sooner dissolved by the Governor-General.

34. *Representation of special interests and of the Crown in Federal Legislature.*—Two further points remain to be mentioned in regard to the composition of the Federal Legislature. Opinion was unanimous in the sub-Committee that, subject to any report of the Minorities sub-Committee, provision should be made for the

representation, possibly in both Chambers, and certainly in the Lower Chamber, of certain special interests, namely, the Depressed Classes, Indian Christians, Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Landlords, Commerce (European and Indian) and Labour. Secondly, in their interim Report, the sub-Committee expressed the view that so long as there are any reserved subjects the Crown should be represented in both Chambers. While the sub-Committee unanimously maintain that recommendation, further discussion has disclosed a difference of view as to the functions of the Crown nominees, and as to their numbers. Some members of the sub-Committee consider that their attendance should be solely for the purpose of explaining the Governor-General's policy on his behalf, and that they should not exercise the right to vote in divisions. Others are of opinion that these persons should be full members of the Legislature. Some members of the sub-Committee consider again that the only nominees of the Crown should be the principal advisers of the Governor-General in the administration of the reserved subjects, while others think that the Governor-General should be empowered to nominate a specified number of persons, not exceeding, say, 10, to each Chamber.

35. *Means of securing stability for the Executive.*—The relation of the two Chambers to one another has been touched on above, but a particular aspect of the relation of the Chambers to the Executive was a subject of discussion in the sub-Committee and should be mentioned here. For the purpose of securing greater stability to the Executive the suggestion was made, and found a large measure of support, that Ministers should not be compelled to resign save in the event of a vote of no confidence passed by a majority of at least two-thirds of the two Chambers sitting together. Ministers against whom less than two-thirds of the votes have been cast on a motion of no confidence would not, however, for that reason alone continue to enjoy to any greater extent than before the confidence of the Legislature who would be still able in other ways to make effective their want of confidence. But the sub-Committee are of opinion that some means should be devised whereby, in the interests of stability, an adverse vote should not on every occasion necessarily involve the resignation of the Ministry, and that the subject should be further explored.

36. *Position of States' representatives in relation to matters affecting British India only.*—Since the functions of the Federal Government will extend beyond the range of federal subjects and will embrace those matters which are strictly the concern of British India alone, it has to be decided whether the States' representatives in the Federal Legislature should take any part in the debates and decisions on this latter class of matters with which *ex hypothesi* they will not be directly concerned. There is much to be said in favour of treating all members of the Federal Legislature as entitled and empowered to contribute their share towards the decision of all matters within the range of the Legislature's duties. It would be clearly impossible, so far as the Executive is concerned

(which will, like the Legislature, be composed of representatives of both States and British India) to differentiate the functions of Ministers in such a way as to confine the responsibilities of States' representatives to Federal matters; no workable scheme could be devised with this object which would not cut at the root of the principle of collective responsibility in the Cabinet. For this reason the States desire—with the general assent of the sub-Committee—that their representatives in the Legislature should play their part equally with their British Indian colleagues in expressing the decision of the Legislature on any question which involves the existence of the Ministry, even if the matter which has given rise to the question of confidence is one which primarily affects British India only. At the same time Their Highnesses would prefer that the States' representatives should take no part in the decision of matters which, being outside the range of federal subjects, have no direct interest to the States. It would, no doubt, be possible so to arrange business in the Legislature that Bills or Budget demands of this character should be dealt with either exclusively or in the Committee stage by a Committee (analogous to the Scottish Committee of the House of Commons) consisting of the British Indian representatives alone. Some members of the sub-Committee think, however, that it would be unfortunate to initiate such a system of differentiation, and that, whatever conventions might be observed, it would be undesirable in terms to deprive the Legislature of the contribution which any of its members might be able to make on any matter within the Legislature's purview; and they think that it would be found in practice difficult, if not impossible, to classify a given matter as being one in which the States have no interest or concern, direct or indirect. The sub-Committee recommend, however, that the matter be further explored.

37. *Competence of the Federal Legislature.*—With reference to paragraph 5 of this Report, the reports of two sub-Committees are appended to this Report in which recommendations have been made as to the classification as federal, central or provincial, of all the subjects which are at present within the competence of the Indian Legislature. The sub-Committee endorse generally these recommendations, though they recognise that the further expert examination which the matter will undoubtedly require may show the necessity of some modification and adjustment. It will be observed that, apart from the specific recommendations made with regard to the treatment of the several items in the list, there is a general recommendation that legislative co-ordination required in respect of certain provincial subjects, or aspects of provincial subjects, should no longer be secured by the process of submitting Provincial Bills on these subjects for the previous sanction of the Governor-General, but firstly by scheduling certain existing Acts (and the same process would, of course, be applied to certain Acts of the Federal Legislature in the future) as being incapable of amendment in their application to a Province by the Provincial Legislature without the previous sanction of the Governor-General and, secondly, by granting concurrent powers of legislation to the

Federal Legislature on certain aspects of specified provincial subjects. It would be necessary to include a provision that any Provincial Act relating to these subjects which is repugnant to a Federal Act is, to the extent of the repugnancy, to be void.

38. *Residual powers.*—The sub-Committee draw attention to the fact that, however, carefully the lists of Federal, Central and Provincial subjects are drawn up, there is bound to be a residue of subjects not included in any of them. Whether these residuary powers of legislation are to rest with the Federal Government or with the Provinces is a matter on which the sub-Committee have come to no conclusion. Its great importance is, however, manifest, and it will need most careful consideration at a later stage.

39. *Control by the Federal Government over Provincial Governments.*—This topic leads naturally to the question of the powers of control to be exercised by the Federal Executive over the Provincial Executive and their nature and extent. It goes without saying that within the range of Federal subjects, the Federal Executive must have authority to ensure that Federal Acts are duly executed in the Provinces; it also goes without saying that within States' territory there can be no question of the exercise of any such authority, direct or indirect, outside the strict range of Federal subjects. But it seems equally evident that in matters affecting more than one Province of British India, even where they relate to subjects classified as Provincial, there must be some authority capable of resolving disputes and of co-ordinating policy when uniformity of policy is in the interests of India as a whole, and the sub-Committee consider that the constitution should recognise this authority as vesting in the Federal Government and should make suitable provision for its exercise.

Signed on behalf of the sub-Committee,

SANKEY,

Chairman.

ST. JAMES'S PALACE,

LONDON.

13th January, 1931.

APPENDIX I TO SECOND REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE No. I.

CLASSIFICATION OF CENTRAL AND PROVINCIAL SUBJECTS.

REPORT OF JOINT COMMITTEE OF SUB-COMMITTEES NOS. I AND II.

The Joint Committee* of the Federal Structure sub-Committee and the Provincial Constitutional sub-Committee was appointed to consider in detail the lists of subjects circulated as R.T.C. (F. (S)) 3, Categories A, B, C and D only, and to suggest a provisional classification into three categories:—

(a) exclusively Central;

(b) exclusively Provincial;

(c) subjects in which the Centre and the Provinces are both interested and which might therefore be subject to central co-ordination, and to make any suggestions that they think fit as to the method to be adopted for securing this co-ordination.

We have considered the various subjects and make the recommendations shown in the right-hand column of the attached Tabular Statement. The enumeration is that of the present list of Central and Provincial subjects, Devolution Rules, Schedule I.

(Signed) ZETLAND,
Chairman.

6th January, 1931.

Proposed Classification of the Indian Central Subjects as detailed in Devolution Rules, Schedule I, Part I.

(Enumeration is that of the present list of the Indian Central Subjects.)

A: Those which are proposed to be wholly or partly federalised.

B: Those no portion of which is proposed to be federalised.

A: Central subjects which are proposed to be wholly or partly federalised.

The description of subjects in the Devolution Rules.	The recommendations of the Federal Structure sub-Committee regarding the extent to which they should be federalised.	The recommendation of the Joint Committee of sub-Committees Nos. I and II regarding the classification of the residue into three Categories. (a) Exclusively Central. (b) Exclusively Provincial. (c) In which both the Centre and Provinces are interested and which might be subject to central co-ordination.
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* For membership, see list at end of tabular statement.

5. Communications to the extent described under the following heads, namely:	Railways (including railways to be constructed or acquired in future). Federal for policy and legislation. Administration to be Federal to the extent of powers now exercised by the Railway Board.	Present position should be maintained.
(b) Aircraft and all matters connected therewith.	Federal	—
(c) Inland waterways to an extent to be declared by rule made by G. G. in C. or by or under legislation by the Indian Legislature.	Federal for policy and legislation in respect of inland waterways affecting more than one unit.	The Committee is informed that as the administration is provincial there is no residue left for classification. But for steamships see list C, item 31.
6. Shipping and navigation (including shipping and navigation of inland waterways in so far as declared to be a central subject under entry 5 (c)).	Federal for policy and legislation.	The present position should be maintained.
7. Lighthouses (including their approaches), beacons, lightships and buoys.	Federal	—
8. Port Quarantine and Marine Hospitals.	Federal as far as international requirements are concerned.	There are no marine hospitals. The only residue is inter-provincial shipping which should be a central subject.
9. Ports declared to be major ports by rule made by the G. G. in C. or by or under legislation by the Indian Legislature.	Such ports to be Federal as are declared to be major ports by rule made by Federal Government or by or under legislation by the Federal Legislature subject in the case of Indian States to such extent as authority may be delegated by the States under a convention.	There is no part of the central subject left which is not federalised.

10. Posts, telegraphs, telephones including wireless installations.	Posts, telegraphs, trunk telephones and wireless installations to be Federal; but with such qualifications as may be necessary for the purposes of adjustment with the States in matters of detail.	The Committee thinks that for technical reasons the local telephones in British India cannot be made a provincial subject. Sir B. N. Mitra suggests that the entry in the second column should be amended as follows:— “ Posts, telegraphs, telephones—excepting local (i.e., non-trunk) telephones in Indian States and wireless installation.” —
11. Customs	Maritime Customs: Federal subject to special adjustment with maritime States having regard to their treaties, engagements and agreements. <i>Customs on external Frontier of Federal India:</i> Federal on the lines of maritime customs subject to the special case of Kashmir. —	—
Income Tax	—	Should be Central as at present. Whether any surcharge should be imposed by the Provinces and whether any portion of the revenue should go to the Provinces are matters beyond the terms of reference to the Committee. —
Salt Other sources of all-India Revenue.	Federal —	As regards these (including excise on motor spirit and kerosine) the position should remain as at present. —
12. Currency and Coinage.	Federal, subject to adjustment with the States concerned of such rights as are not already conceded by them.	—
13. Public debt of India	Public debt of Federal India (power to raise Federal Loans) should be Federal.	The public debt of India on the date of the inauguration of the Federal constitution should be a central subject.

14. Savings Banks	Federal for policy and legislation regarding Post Office Savings Banks.	Since it was not clear to what Savings Banks, other than Post Office Savings Banks, this entry may refer, we have no recommendation to make.
15. The Indian Audit Department.	Federal audit to be Federal.	Provincial accounts should be a provincial subject. As regards audit the general sense of the Committee was that it should be a central subject but a substantial minority thought that the audit of provincial accounts should be a provincial subject.
17. Commerce (including banking and insurance).	Federal for policy and legislation.	Should be Central to the extent to which it is at present.
18. Trading Companies and other associations.	Do.	Do.
20. Development of industries, in cases where such development by central authority is declared by order of the Governor-General in Council made after consultation with the local Government or local Governments concerned expedient in the public interests.	Development of industries to be a federal Subject in cases where such development by Federal Authority is declared by order of the Federal Government made after negotiation with and consent of the federating units.	Development of industries should remain Provincial to the extent to which it is not federalised.
21. Control of cultivation and manufacture of opium. Sale of opium for export.	Federal for policy and legislation.	The position should be maintained as at present.
22. Stores and stationery both imported and indigenous required for Imperial Departments.	Stores and stationery both imported and indigenous required for Federal Departments to be Federal.	As regards non-Federal Central Departments the subject should be under the control of the Centre.
23. Control of petroleum and explosives.	Federal for policy and legislation.	The position should be maintained as at present.
24. Geological Survey of India.	Federal . . .	—
26. Botanical Survey of India.	Federal . . .	—
27. Inventions and designs.	Federal for policy and legislation.	The position should be maintained as at present.
28. Copyright.	Do.	Do.

29. Emigration from and immigration into British India. Inter-provincial migration.	Emigration from and immigration into India—Federal. —	The Committee suggests that the question of making migration between Federal units a Federal subject should be considered.
31. Central police organisation.	Federal police organisation to be Federal.	Central to the extent it is at present.
32. Control of arms and ammunition.	Traffic in arms and ammunition to be Federal for policy and legislation.	The position as regards control of arms and ammunition as apart from traffic in them should be maintained as at present. The provincial Governments should, however, have power to grant exemptions from the requirements of the Arms Act in respect of provincial areas.
33. Central agencies and institutions for research (including observatories) and for professional or technical training or promotion of special studies.	Federal as regards <i>future</i> agencies and institutions.	As regards existing agencies and institutions the subject should continue to be Central as at present—if it is not federalised.
35. Survey of India . . .	Federal	—
33. Meteorology . . .	Do. . . .	—
39. Census . . .	Federal for policy and legislation — the States reserving administration.	Central to the extent it is at present.
Statistics . . .	All-India Statistics—Federal.	—
40. All-India Services . . .	Federal Services should be Federal.	Central Services should be a central subject. As regards All-India services, the question is for the consideration of the "Services" sub-Committee.
44. Immoveable property in possession of the Governor-General in Council.	Immoveable property acquired and maintained at the cost of Federal Government should be Federal.	Immoveable property acquired and maintained at the cost of Central Government should be Central.
45. The Public Services Commission.	Federal for the purpose of Federal Services.	The Public Services Commission for the Central Services should be a central subject.

B: Central subjects, no portion of which is proposed to be federalised.

The description of the subjects in the Devolution Rules.

16. Civil Law including laws regarding status, property, civil rights and liabilities and civil procedure.
19. Control of production, supply and distribution of any articles in respect of which control by a central authority is declared by rule made by the Governor General in Council or by or under legislation by the Indian Legislature to be essential in the public interest save to the extent to which in such rule or legislation such control is directed to be exercised by a local Government.
25. Control of Mineral Development in so far as such control is reserved to the Governor-General in Council under rules made or sanctioned by the Secretary of State, and regulation of mines.
30. Criminal Law including Criminal Procedure.
34. Ecclesiastical administration—including European Cemeteries.
36. Survey of India
37. Zoological Survey
42. Territorial changes—other than inter-provincial and declaration of laws in connection therewith.
43. Regulation of ceremonial titles, orders, precedence and civil uniform.

The recommendation of the Joint Committee of sub-Committees Nos. I and II regarding their classification into three categories:

- (a) Exclusively Central.
- (b) Exclusively Provincial.
- (c) In which both the Centre and the Provinces are interested and which might be subject to central legislation.

This question has been considered by a special Legal Committee and we therefore refrain from dealing with it. See Appendix II.

The majority of the Committee considered that the Central Government should not retain the power which this entry gives.

The control of mineral development should be entirely a provincial subject but the regulation of mines should remain a central subject to the extent it is at present.

See No. 16 above.

This should be a central rather than a provincial subject. It is, however, to be considered whether it should not be a Crown subject.

The present position should be maintained.

Do.

The Committee understands that this has already been decided to be a matter to be dealt with under amendments of the constitution.

The Committee understands that this has already been decided to be a matter more properly falling under the authority of the Crown.

The Joint Committee considers that a new entry should be made making Services in the centrally-administered areas and expenditure incurred therein a central subject.

Proposed Classification of those of the Provincial subjects in respect of which some control is exercised by the Centre.

Devolution Rules, Schedule I, Part II.

(Enumeration is that of the present list of the Provincial subjects.)

O: Provincial subjects which are subject to legislation by the Indian Legislature.

D: Provincial subjects specially excepted and those in respect of which extra-provincial control is exercised.

C: Provincial subjects subject to legislation by the Indian Legislature.

Description of subject in the Devolution Rules.

The recommendation of the Joint Committee of sub-Committees Nos. I and II regarding their classification into three categories:

- (a) Exclusively Central.
- (b) Exclusively Provincial.
- (c) In which both the Centre and the Provinces are interested and which might be subject to central co-ordination.

Local Self Government.

1. As regards:

(a) the power of local authorities to borrow otherwise than from the Provincial Government;

(b) the levying by such authorities of taxation not included in Schedule II of the Scheduled Taxes Rules.

3. *Public Health, Sanitation and Vital Statistics.*

As regards infectious and contagious diseases to such extent as may be declared by any Act of the Indian Legislature.

5. *Education.*

As regards the definition of the jurisdiction of any University outside the Province in which it is situated.

6. *Public Works—light and feeder Railways and extra municipal tramways in so far as provision for their instruction and management is made by provincial legislation.*

As regards these two matters the Committee thinks that the words "subject to the previous sanction of a central authority to the extent to which such sanction of the Governor-General is now required" should be substituted for the words "subject to legislation by the Indian Legislature."

In respect of the specific matter of infectious and contagious diseases in the sphere of public health, which is now subject to legislation by the Indian Legislature, the majority of the Committee are in favour of co-ordination as against legislative control by the Centre.

We suggest that the full Committee should consider whether this should not be a Federal subject.

6.—*contd.*

As regards any such railways or tramways which are in physical connection with a main line or are built on the same gauge as an adjacent main line.

7. *Water-supplies, irrigation and canals, drainage and embankment, water storage and water power.*

As regards matter of inter-provincial concern or affecting the relation of a Province with any other territory.

10. *Agriculture.*

In respect of destructive insects and pests and plant diseases to such extent as may be declared by any Act of the Indian Legislature.

11. *Civil Veterinary Department.*

In respect of animal diseases to such extent as may be declared by any Act of the Indian Legislature.

14. *Forests.*

As regards disforestation of reserved forests.

15. *Land Acquisition.*

17. *Administration of Justice.*

As regards High Courts, Chief Courts, Courts of Judicial Commissioners and any courts of criminal jurisdiction.

19. *Administrators — General and Official Trustees.*

20.—(a) *Non-Judicial Stamps.*

(b) *Judicial Stamps.*

As regards amounts of court fees levied in relation to suits and proceedings in the High Courts under their original jurisdiction.

21. *Registration of deeds and documents.*

22. *Registration of births, deaths and marriages.*

As regards such classes as the Indian Legislature may determine.

The present position should be maintained.

Do.

As in No. 3 above.

Do.

The Committee thinks that disforestation of reserved forests should be exclusively Provincial. Legislation should be exclusively Provincial; but the right of the Central Government to acquire land for its own purposes should be fully safeguarded.

The present position should be maintained.

The subject should in future be Provincial.

In both cases the present position should be maintained.

In both cases the present position should be maintained.

This should be subject to legislation by the Indian Legislature—

(a) for marriages in the case of such classes as the Indian Legislature may determine.

(b) for births and deaths in the case of Europeans and foreigners.

26. *Industrial matters.*

As regards

- (a) Factories.
- (b) Settlement of labour disputes.
- (c) Electricity.
- (d) Boilers.
- (g) Welfare of labour, including provident funds, industrial insurance (general, health and accident) and housing.

23. *Adulteration of Food Stuffs and other articles.*

As regards import and export trade only.

29. *Weights and measures.*

As regards Standards

31. *Inland Waterways including shipping and navigation thereon.*

As regards inland steam vessels only.

33. *Miscellaneous matters.*

- (d) Control of poisons
- (e) Control of Motor vehicles
As regards licences valid throughout British India.
- (f) Control of dramatic performances and cinematographs.

As regards sanction of films for exhibition.

34. *Control of newspapers, books and printing presses.*37. *Criminal Tribes*33. *European Vagrancy*39. *Prisons and Prisoners (except persons detained under*

The Bengal State Prisoners Regulation, 1818.

The Madras State Prisoners Regulation, 1819.

The Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827),

and Reformatories.

45. *Regulation of medical and other professional qualifications and standards.*47. *Control of Services.*

As regards public services within the Province other than All-India Services.

As regards (a), (b), (c), (d) and (g), there should be a concurrent power of legislation vested in the Provinces and in the Centre. The previous sanction of the Governor-General should not be required in the case of provincial legislation.

The present position should be maintained.

Do.

Do.

Do.

Do.

The subject should be exclusively Provincial.

The present condition should be maintained.

The subject should be exclusively Provincial (but with continuance of central legislation as regards State prisoners).

The present position should be maintained. The question of making this subject Federal should be considered.

The Committee refrains from making any recommendation as the matter falls within the purview of the "Services" sub-Committee.

The Joint Committee recommends generally with regard to the existing legislation on the above subjects that statutory provision should be made similar to that suggested by the Legal sub-Committee on Civil and

Criminal law and procedure, under which certain specified Acts should not be repealed or altered by Provincial Legislatures without the previous sanction of the Governor-General. The Committee assumes that where the Centre and Provinces have concurrent legislative powers, the Central Law would prevail in case of conflict.

D: Provincial subjects specially expected and those in respect of which extra-provincial control is exercised.

The description of the subject in the Devolution Rules.

5. Education.

The following two are not provincial subjects:

(1) The Benares Hindu University, The Aligarh Muslim University and such other Universities as may be declared by the Governor-General in Council to be central subjects.

(2) Chiefs' colleges and any institution maintained by the Governor-General in Council for the benefit of the members of His Majesty's Forces and of other public servants or of the children of such members or servants.

6. Public Works.

Ancient monuments as defined in Section 2 (1) of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 1904, which are for the time being declared to be protected monuments under Section 3 (1) of that Act, are central subjects.

8. Colonisation and disposal of Crown Lands not in possession of the Governor-General in Council.

The control is exercised by the Secretary of State in Council under Section 30 of the Government of India Act.

The recommendation of the Joint Committee of sub-Committees Nos. I and II regarding their classification into three categories:

- (a) Exclusively Central.
- (b) Exclusively Provincial.
- (c) In which both the Centre and the Provinces are interested and which might be subject to central co-ordination.

The Benares and Aligarh Universities should be central subjects, together with such Universities constituted after the inauguration of the new constitution as may be declared by the Central authority to be central subjects.

The question of making chiefs' colleges and institutions for the benefit of members of His Majesty's Forces or their children Federal subjects should be considered; otherwise Central.

The position should be maintained as at present.

The Joint Committee considers this subject to be beyond its terms of reference.

16. *Excise.*

Control of cultivation, manufacture and sale for export of opium are central subjects.

24. *Development of mineral resources which are Government property.*

This power is subject to rules made or sanctioned by the Secretary of State.

24A. *Control of production, supply and distribution of any articles.*

The extent to which such control is directed to be exercised by a local Government is laid down by

- (a) a rule made by the Governor-General in Council,
- (b) or under legislation by the Indian Legislature.

27. *Stores and Stationery.*

In the case of imported stationery the control is subject to such rules as may be prescribed by the Secretary of State in Council.

30. *Ports.*

Such ports as may be declared by the Governor-General in Council to be major ports by a rule made by the Governor-General in Council or by or under Indian legislation are not provincial but central subjects.

31. *Inland Waterways.*

The Governor-General in Council may declare some to be central subjects.

32. *Police, including Railway Police.*

In the case of the Railway Police this control is subject to such conditions as regards limits of jurisdiction and Railway contribution to cost of maintenance as the Governor-General in Council may determine.

39. *Prisons and Prisoners.*

Prisoners detained under the Bengal State Prisoners Regulation 1818, the Madras State Prisoners Regulation, 1819, the Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827, are central subjects.

42. *Libraries and Museums.*

The Imperial Library, the Indian Museum, the Imperial War Museum and the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta, are central subjects.

The present position should be maintained.

The regulation of development should rest with the Government—Central and Provincial—under whose authority the resources are developed.

See item No. 19 in the list B above.

The Joint Committee sees no necessity for regulation by a superior authority of imports of stationery by provincial Governments.

See item No. 9 in the list A above.

See item No. 5 (b) in the list A above.

The present position should be maintained.

See item No. 39 in the list C above.

The present position should be maintained. The question of making these institutions Federal should be considered.

49. *Borrowing money on the sole credit of the Province.*

This power is subject to the provisions of the local Government Borrowing Rules.

The present position should be maintained.

N.B.—The Joint Committee consisted of the following members:—Lord Zetland, Mr. Sastri, Sir B. N. Mitra, Mr. Mudaliyar, Sir M. Shafi, Sir S. Ahmed, Sardar Ujjal Singh, Mr. Gavin Jones, Dr. Ambedkar, Nawab Sir Ahmad Said Khan, Mr. Joshi, Raja Narendra Nath, Sir A. P. Patro, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Mr. Zafrullah Khan.

APPENDIX II TO SECOND REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE No. I.

CIVIL LAW AND CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE.

REPORT OF THE LEGAL SUB-COMMITTEE OF SUB-COMMITTEE No. I.

The Legal sub-Committee have considered the possibility of giving Provincial legislatures a plenary power of legislation over the whole field of civil and criminal law and giving the Central legislature power to legislate on those matters only which are necessarily the concern of the Central authority. They find, however, that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to specify or even to indicate in general terms all the matters which should be reserved for the Central legislature, and that, therefore, it will be necessary to give the Central legislature a wide power of legislation. The Committee think also that it is necessary in the interest no less of the Provinces than of British India as a whole that the uniformity in civil and criminal law which now exists should be maintained. At the same time they think that the Provincial legislatures should have a wide power of legislation as regards civil and criminal law for provincial purposes. The sub-Committee think that the objects in view can best be secured by giving the Central legislature a plenary power of legislation on all matters of civil and criminal law and giving Provincial legislatures a concurrent power of legislation except as regards those matters which are necessarily the concern of the Central authority, *e.g.*, laws relating to international obligations, laws for territories not subject to any Provincial legislature and laws affecting any power expressly reserved to the Central authority by any law for the time being in force.

To preserve the uniformity which at present exists the present arrangement should be maintained under which certain important Acts cannot be repealed or altered without the previous sanction of the Governor-General. The Acts are specified in rules made under section 80a (3) (h) of the Government of India Act but the list requires certain alterations and additions.

On all other matters so far as the legislative power of a Provincial legislature is concurrent with that of the Central legislature it should be capable of being exercised without any previous sanction but it should be declared to be subject to legislation by the Central legislature so that in case of a conflict between Central and Provincial legislation the former would prevail. The sub-Committee think that if this plan were adopted Provincial legislatures would have in the field of civil and criminal law a power of legislation which would be sufficient for their needs. To give effect to this plan items 16 and 30 in the Central list should remain as they are, a complementary entry should be made in the Provincial list and provision should be made somewhere in the Act on the lines of section 80a (3) (h), to secure the uniformity desired.

This uniformity should extend to such matters as those covered by the Acts referred to in the rules made under section 80a (3) (h). The list of the Acts contained in the rules will require further examination and must in any case be brought up to date.

31st December, 1930.

N.B.—The sub-Committee consisted of the following members:—Sir Muhammad Shafi, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Mr. Jayakar, and Mr. Jinnah, with the assistance of Sir Edward Chamier and Sir Maurice Gwyer.

Aga Khan, and others. Sir Tej made an appeal to the Indian Princes which was couched in the following terms: "I think the Indian Princes every inch as patriotic as any one of us, and I make an earnest appeal to them not to confine their vision merely to what is called one-third India. Let them move forward with a vision of an India which shall be one single whole, each part of which may be autonomous and may enjoy absolute independence within its borders, regulated by proper relations with the rest. I therefore ask them to come forth on this occasion and say whether they are prepared to join an All-India Federation."

Sir, I do not desire to stress the fact that the appeal was made to us by British India, for I say quite frankly: if British India had not suggested to us the federal idea, we would have suggested it to them, for we were and we are convinced that only through Federation can we, all of us, British India and the Indian States alike, contribute our quota to the prosperity and well-being, and to the glory of our beloved Motherland. Our country is too vast, too variegated in its resources, in its population, in its cultures, to be content with a sterile uniformity which will confine all of us, whether we live in Kashmir or at Cape Comorin, in Bengal or in Sind, into a single mould. The greatness of India consists in the fact, that while she manifests an underlying unity, this unity is of a kind sufficiently tolerant and sufficiently all-embracing to permit her sons, from whichever part of the Continent they may come, to contribute their separate cultures to the common heritage.

With these considerations in our minds, what was our response to Sir Tej Bahadur's appeal? The Princes and the representative members of the Indian States Delegation at once supported the idea of Federation. His Highness of Bikaner, my esteemed and revered brother, lent his support on behalf of the Princes, and made the point of view of the States abundantly clear.

Perhaps I may be permitted to quote a few sentences from the speech which I delivered here on the 20th November; "Speaking for myself, and I am sure too, on behalf of my brother Princes. I cordially reciprocate the view of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru of the share which the Indian States can contribute in a united Federal India, and I particularly endorse his remark that when the time comes they will furnish a stabilising factor in the constitution. I note that both he and other speakers recognise that nothing in a system of Federation connotes any interference in the internal affairs of the States, and that their treaties with the Crown will remain unaltered, unless modified by mutual consent, and that it is in matters of common consent hereafter to be defined by mutual agreement and in nothing else that Federation will be concerned. On that understanding, only one feature has to be added to the picture, namely, that the Federation shall be equal on both sides, and that there can be no question of the status of the States in any way being subordinate to that of the rest of India. On those conditions, I say, I entirely agree with the principle of Federation. The details will have to be worked out by the sub-Committee already appointed for the purpose."

and must provide that all States who agree to participate shall be properly represented."

Sir, to this declaration I adhere, and I think I have the support of almost all the States represented here. Since the time when I made the above statement we have spent many hours in the examination of the practical problems presented by the federal idea. The Princes have shown in the most practical manner that they have been willing, and indeed anxious, to make sacrifices for the common good of India. We have agreed over a wide range of very important subjects to derogate our much cherished sovereignty to federal institutions in which we of the States will be represented. We have throughout, I venture to assert, shown that our first thought has been for a prosperous and united India. If from time to time we have thought it necessary to interpose a caution or to put forward a claim, it has been due to the fact that we are the trustees for our subjects; for, owing to the circumstances which are in large measure beyond our control, we in the Indian States have not enjoyed many of those advantages which have brought prosperity to British India. We have been in some sort the step-children of the Government of India; we have been isolated from the tide of progress; we have been barred in back waters away from the main stream of economic and political development. We also feel, therefore, that our own people are not as yet fitted in all directions to hold their own with the people of British India; we think that some allowance must be made for them, if they are not to start in the friendly competition of service to our Motherland under a crippling handicap. We therefore appeal to all concerned that advantage should not be taken of the fact that we are comparatively undeveloped and underpopulated.

I have heard some anxiety expressed in certain quarters regarding the constitutional position of subjects of the Indian States. This matter is plainly beyond the jurisdiction of this Conference, since it is solely a domestic concern of each Sovereign State. But the question is so near my own heart, as well as, I know, to that of my brother Princes, that I take leave to refer to it in the course of these remarks. I would point out that the Chamber of Princes has already taken it up, and by formal resolution has brought it prominently to the notice of each constituent member. So far as my own State is concerned, the fundamental rights of the subjects have already been proclaimed, such, as to mention only a few, *habeas corpus*, religious freedom, liberty of person and security of property, and the independence of Judiciary, etc.

I am sure that my State is no exception among other States who have done similar things. I apologise for this digression into personal and domestic matters and for having mentioned them here, but I believe it will be useful.

Sir, the question of paramountcy, as we all know, is outside the ambit of the present discussion. This is not the place nor the occasion to discuss in detail the exercise of these powers of paramountcy over the States which at least is our view, in one form or

another have been responsible for so large a part of the handicaps under which we are at present labouring. But now that we are laying the foundations of an All-India Federation it is of the utmost importance that the question be settled in consultation with the Viceroy without any further loss of time and in a manner that will give satisfaction to the States. At this stage the point which I should like to make to-day is this. The attitude which I and my brother Princes have adopted towards the question of the Federation has not been dictated by any desire for selfish advantage.

Let us look at the facts of the situation. We of the Indian States are already in possession of, nay more, we have never lost the enjoyment of that Swaraj, that sovereignty and internal independence for which the sons of British India are at present negotiating. We have our own private domestic differences with the Agents of the Crown in India so far as the manner in which the powers of paramountcy are exercised, but in the main, despite occasional pinpricks and discomforture, we feel that our position is safe; that we can rely on the good faith of Great Britain, upon the contents of our solemn Treaties and upon the proclamations of successive Sovereigns which have left us in no doubt that the highest authorities of the Empire emphatically endorse our own view that these Treaties are inviolate and inviolable, and that the Sovereigns of England regard the rights, privileges, and dignities of the Princes of India as being as worthy of respect as their own.

Had we been thinking purely and simply of the interests of ourselves and of our ruling Houses, nothing would have been easier for us than to demand protection guaranteed to us by our Treaties and avoid joining hands with British India in the demand which has been put forward for self-government. But we did not take this view as loyal sons of India which we, not like any one else, have every right to call ourselves, and also as ruling Princes bound in the closest ties to the Person and Throne of His Majesty, the King-Emperor, we believed it to be the advantage alike of our Mother Country and of the Empire that India should through Federation become one great Country.

From the beginning of this Conference it has been our desire to help and not to hinder the progress of our Motherland, and I feel that in any just consideration of the true interests of the country the participation of the Indian States no less than that of British India will be found a requisite and satisfactory constitutional and political advance; but I desire to assure you all that it is not in any case the wish of the States to make any attempt to dominate British India or in any event to be unreasonable in our demands.

So far as the States are concerned, it is plain that in view of the Constitutional position which they enjoy within the Empire their entry into the Federation will necessitate formal negotiation, through the Viceroy, with His Majesty's Government; and the terms and methods under and by which they will enter the Federation will have to be embodied in Treaties between the Crown and the individual States.

Sir, before concluding this brief survey of the work of the Federal Structure sub-Committee, it is my great pleasure as well as my bounden duty to pay my tribute to the Lord Chancellor. We owe to his patience, power of persuasion, courtesy and ability, the principal measures of the success which this, the Central Committee of all, if I may be permitted the expression, has been able to achieve.

The Reports of the other sub-Committees are also before us. Much of the spade work has been done, but as they primarily concern the internal affairs of British India, I will not attempt to survey the field in any detail. In their case, however, I find that there also is a great deal of agreement as far as principles are involved. There may be some difference of opinion over questions of detail; but we have not tried to work out details, and even if we had attempted we could never have finished our work even in six months. Indeed, as I have already pointed out, there are still many details to be filled in so far as the Federal Structure itself is concerned. There is ample time to work out these details in small committees in India or elsewhere. But enough has been done to enable us to take decisions on questions of vital importance; and that is exactly what, as I understand, we are here for. Let us, therefore, if I may respectfully suggest it, confine ourselves to decisions on questions of principle and thus come to satisfactory conclusions as quickly as possible. Anyhow, whatever be the result of further negotiations and in whatever manner the details may be fixed, of one thing we are certain. We have laid the foundations for a self-governing Dominion of India, into the constitution of which both British India and the Indian States will enter as honourable and co-equal partners; which will provide, in the words of a Resolution passed in the Chamber of Princes in February of last year "necessary safeguards and reservations for all vital interests in the country," and which will enable India to take her place among the greatest Dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Nothing, I am sure, will shake us from this great decision. It is now only left for all of us to see that the edifice which we have begun is completed in a manner worthy of its inception.

With these few general observations on what we have been doing in our Committees and what still remains to be done, I close these all too inadequate remarks by making two appeals.

The first I address to our friends of British India, and I make this first appeal with the more confidence in that I personally have always held it to be the first duty of an Indian Prince, that he should also be an Indian nationalist. In these last stages of our important work I know we are all agreed that the time has come when Princes and people, leaders of the Indian States and leaders of British India, once again stand united in our determination to leave nothing undone which will advance the reputation and honour of the country which we love so well.

We have set clearly before our eyes the ideals formulated by Lord Sankey when he adjured us to think not of British India, not of the Indian States, but of India. We hold our mother country before everything else—before our individual claims, before the claims of our States, before the claims of British India; for in literal truth there is no reason why we should not stand united.

There is nothing in the respective faiths of the Muslims and of the Hindus to lead to ill-will between us. Will it therefore be too much to expect that whatever communal differences may remain will now, in these final stages, be once for all settled? Shall I be considered presumptuous if, in the fair name of my Motherland, I appeal to my respected brethren to drown all such differences in the deep sea and to emerge out of this Conference all united as one homogeneous body, Hindus, Muslims, Depressed Classes, Sikhs and other minorities, all happy and contented, strong and pure, ready to work out the destinies of our India, destinies which we hope will soon be placed in our hands?

Let us all, then, labour courageously and with good heart to secure for each interest in India its due consideration and its necessary safeguards, setting clearly before our eyes the ideal which we all cherish of an India in which internal rifts and dissensions shall have disappeared.

My next appeal is addressed to the Government, to the political parties and to the people of Great Britain. Before I make it, may I pay my tribute to the manner in which you, Mr. Prime Minister, and your Government, together with the members of the other political parties, have received us in our capacity as representatives of India. I am sure I am speaking not merely on behalf of myself or the Indian Princes, but on behalf of the entire Delegation to the Round Table Conference, when I say that it has been a source of great satisfaction and encouragement to all of us throughout the proceedings of this Conference to feel that the fundamental desire of Great Britain has been to hear India's claim in a spirit of equity and justice.

Your own personality, Mr. Prime Minister, has been a perpetual inspiration to us, and I should like at the same time to include in my grateful thanks our Secretary of State, Mr. Wedgwood Benn, who has worked, as we all know, without rest for the success of the Conference.

Sir, as to the manner in which India's claim has been put forward it is not right for me to speak; but as an Indian I can only say that I am proud of the service which has been done for my country by her most honoured sons. The statesmanship, the wisdom, the moderation and the foresight which have characterised the work of eminent patriots on the other side of the Table would, I venture to think, do honour to the most prominent representatives of any country in the world.

That the manner in which the cause of India has been pleaded has been effective is amply apparent, I think, from the courageous

(4) Intervention may be based on "Treaties, Engagements and Sanads supplemented by usage or sufference and by the decisions of the Government of India and the Secretary of State embodied in political practice." (Ibid para. 45.)

(5) Lastly, "Treaties, Engagements and Sanads where they exist are of continuing valid force but have necessarily been supplemented and illumined by political practice to mean changing conditions in a moving world." It follows that the "Political Department must continue to be paramount and therefore it must be left free to meet unforeseen circumstances as they arise." (Ibid para. 106.)

The Report is thus an Imperialist and Militarist manifestation. It is a philosophy ardently believed and unflinchingly applied. Indian India is to be the *locus classicus* of indirect rule through the Viceroy in contrast with efficient direct rule of the bureaucracy in British India.

And since India is "a geographical unity" the two Indias under the rule respectively of black and white are to form a Black and Tan Empire for the glory of Great Britain. The Butler Committee is more than satisfied with the administrative achievements of the products of British Universities and their pupils the Princes turned out to pattern from Government Colleges. This happy family is to continue to exercise condominium over the subject people of India. The future is on the knees of the gods and can take care of itself:—

"To that future we can merely open a vista. Our terms of reference do not invite us to survey the distant hills and the valleys that lead to them. But we are confident that the Princes, who in war and peace have already rendered such signal service, will play a worthy and illustrious part in the development of India and the Empire." (Ibid para. 106.)

The Butler Report tells the Princes in effect that they must take the rough with the smooth for the alternative to unconditional surrender to Great Britain is annihilation:—

Paramountcy

"Paramountcy must remain paramount; it must fulfil its obligations defining or adapting itself according to the shifting necessities of the time and the progressive development of the States. Nor need the States take alarm at this conclu-

sion. Through paramountcy and paramountcy alone have grown up and flourished those strong benign relations between the Crown and the Princes on which at all times the States rely. On paramountcy and paramountcy alone can the States rely for their preservation through the generations that are to come. Through paramountcy is pushed aside the danger of destruction or annexation." (Para. 57.)

The Committee's declaration of faith that "paramountcy must remain paramount" for the safety of the British Empire in India must be a bitter pill for those Rulers to swallow who attempted to persuade the Committee to define the extent of paramountcy having due regard to treaties and engagements. It amounts in fact to a refusal to depart from the practice of the Political Department which has hitherto claimed unlimited powers in relation to States. Lee Warner wrote: "There is a Paramount Power in the British Crown but perhaps its extent is wisely left undefined."

The novel theory of the origin of British Paramountcy is Novel theory of its origin thus asserted by the Butler Committee:—

"It is not in accordance with historical fact that when the Indian States came into contact with the British Power they were independent, each possessed of full sovereignty and of a status which a modern international lawyer would hold to be governed by the rules of international law. In fact, none of the States ever held international status. Nearly all of them were subordinate or tributary to the Moghul Empire, the Mahratta Supremacy or the Sikh Kingdom,³ and dependent on them. Some were rescued others were created, by the British." (Para. 39.)

Thus paramountcy proceeds from the original dependent position of the States themselves, and is not derived from their treaties and engagements which are not contracts or agreements of an international character. The question therefore arises—are Rulers of Indian States including the great Mahratta Princes whose ancestors dismembered the Mughul Empire and finally conquered it and others who were not under the Mughul domination, feudatories of the British Crown?

In political parlance the Rulers of Indian States are now often referred to as Feudatories and the expression is to be found in

official documents but there is no historical basis for any such claim. Before the Mutiny, the East India Company made no attempt to treat the Rulers of Indian States as standing in a feudal relation to the King of England.

Such a conception as applying to the States as a whole appears for the first time during the Viceroyalty of Lord Canning. In 1862, Lord Canning declared that "the Crown of England stood forward the unquestioned ruler and paramount power in all India, and was for the first time brought face to face with its feudatories."

The theory of paramountcy was further elaborated in the time of Lord Mayo. It constituted a striking departure from the relations that existed between the British Government and the States up to that time. Both the Marquis of Hastings and the Marquis of Dalhousie had expressly repudiated any claim of paramountcy as is proved by Lord Hastings' letter in 1822 to the Resident, Mr. C. T. Metcalf, at Hyderabad, and by the letter to Lord Dalhousie in reply to General Fraser, then Resident at Hyderabad. These letters are dealt with later on.

Before the Mutiny the Government of India claimed no general paramountcy over Indian States investing it with the right to order the rulers to conform to its wishes or to intervene in any matters outside the express provision of their treaties. If an overzealous subordinate put forward such a policy the Government of India brushed it aside on the ground that it had not the legal or constitutional authority to justify such a course.

Thus although politically and in a military sense paramount in India the East India Company never claimed to be the paramount power with a right to intervene in the internal affairs of the States. If in 1857 the Government of India did not possess such rights, on what basis and through what processes has the British Government in India become vested with the wide powers claimed for the Crown in the Butler Report ?

After the Mutiny Lord Canning stated that the assurance to the States against annexation did not
A novel claim "diminish our right to visit a State with the highest penalties in the event of disloyalty or flagrant breach of engagements." It is sufficient to note that such a claim was never put forward by the East India Company and no Indian

Ruler has by agreement or otherwise ever accepted it.

Lord Canning declared in 1860 that "the territories under the sovereignty of the Crown became at once an important and as integral a part of India as territories under its direct domination. Together they form one direct care, and a political system which the Mughuls had not contemplated and the Mahrattas never contemplated is now an established fact of history."

Lord Mayo was equally emphatic. In his speech to the Rulers of Rajputana he said:—

"If we respect your rights and privileges, you should also respect the rights and regard the privileges of those who are placed beneath your care. If we support you in your power, we expect in return good government. We demand that everywhere throughout the length and breadth of Rajputana, justice and order shall prevail; that every man's property shall be secure; that the traveller shall come and go in safety; that the cultivator shall enjoy the fruits of his labour; and the trader the produce of his commerce; that you shall make roads and undertake the construction of those works of irrigation which will improve the condition of the people and swell the revenue of your States; that you shall encourage education and provide for the relief of the sick."

This was indeed a claim that the internal administration of the States should be conducted under the supervision of the Government of India because it was the paramount power!

Tupper, a British political officer who, like Malcolm before *him and Aitchison after him*, was responsible for evolving a "system" in the Department of the Government of India dealing with the States, saw all the important elements of feudalism in the relationship between the Crown and the States! He writes in his book "Our Indian Protectorate."

Elements of Feudalism

"If the fiefs were isolated so are the Native States. If the holders of the fiefs enjoyed immunity from the laws of any external power so in general do the Chiefs exercising various degrees of internal sovereignty. Even in the methods by which the system of protectorate was gradually formed we see a likeness to the process of feudalisation."

Tupper was the author of "Political Practice" a book of confidential instructions to Political officers. The Norman theory

of feudalism whereby the King claimed aid, wardship and other rights over his Barons was thus grafted into the Indian political system by those who had the control of the Government policy in relation to the States.

In pursuance of this so-called feudal theory the Government of India, after the Mutiny, claimed to control minority administration although before the Mutiny it had proclaimed in important cases that it possessed no such right.

It insisted in certain cases on *nazrana* being paid on adoption, it laid down that sanction was necessary before succession and that Rulers were to be invested with powers by Government. In the case of the Nawab of Tonk who was deposed for alleged complicity in murder the Government of Lord Lawrence mulcted the State of a slice of its territory. Apart from the rights and wrongs of the question of deposition, the confiscation of a portion of the State is difficult to understand except on the Norman theory of Feudalism that for the crime of a fief holder his fief may become escheat!

The grant of orders of chivalry was another expression of the feudal idea. In a letter to Disraeli
Orders of Chivalry Lord Lytton wrote in April 1877:—

“Nothing has struck me more in my intercourse thus far with Indian Rajas and Maharajas than the importance they attach to their family pedigrees and ancestral records. Here is a great feudal aristocracy which we cannot get rid of, which we are avowedly anxious to conciliate and command but which we have as yet done next to nothing to rally round the British Crown as its *feudal* head. Every Raja I have yet conversed with has been curiously and amusingly anxious to convince me of the antiquity of his family and the extent to which its importance has been recognised by the Suzerain Power at various times. Many of them have presented me with printed and illustrated genealogies and family records, lovingly edited by themselves and published at their own expense. Several of these genealogies are composed and printed in English. But what is worthy of notice is that in all of them I find evidence that small favours and marks of honours bestowed from time to time by the British Government on the head of the family such as an additional gun to his salute, the right to a return visit from the Viceroy,

The anxiety of the Indian Government to found a personal relationship between the King and the Rulers of States led to the view that by the abolition of the Company new rights were created in the Crown and later that the authority legal and constitutional supposed to have been vested on the phantom Moghul Emperor was transferred to the British Crown. Thus Queen Victoria was to be regarded as the heir of Moghul pretensions.

But the facts were otherwise. It could not be argued that the assumption of the administration of India by the Crown invested the Government of India with suzerainty over the States. Since only the rights possessed by the Company were transferred to the Crown no additional rights could accrue to the Crown by such transfer. The Act of 1858 provided that all treaties made by the Company shall be binding on Her Majesty." The proclamation of the Queen made it still clearer:—

"We hereby announce to the native Princes of India that all treaties or engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Hon'ble the East India Company are by us accepted and will be scrupulously maintained and we look for the like observance on their part."

Indeed this is admitted in the Butler Report "The Act of 1858 which put an end to the administration of the Company did not give the Crown any new powers which it had not previously possessed. It merely changed the machinery through which the Crown exercised its powers." (Para.).

The transfer of control being merely a resumption by the Crown of the powers of a corporation created by itself could not vest in the Crown greater authority over third parties than that corporation possessed and in any case such a transfer could not impose fresh obligations on those who were not parties to the relation between the Crown and that corporation.

On the death of the last Moghul Emperor, Disraeli in 1876 revived the idea that the Queen should assume the title of Empress of India. This idea had previously been mooted by the Prince Consort for his wife and Sovereign in 1858. In the spring of 1876 the Royal Titles Bill was introduced in the House of Commons. The new title was explained by Lord Hartington in

nised by the British Government which however demanded the expulsion of the rebel brother. The Jubraj refused to comply with the order. The British Government thereupon invaded Manipur, deposed the Jubraj and after a trial sentenced him to be hanged. A proclamation of the Government of India enjoined the State subjects to take warning. A recent writer has summed up the situation which arose as follows:—

“The question whether in an act of resistance by a ruler, the subjects of the State should loyally obey a Maharaja cannot be answered completely by a proclamation from the Government of India. Subjects of a State like that of the Nizam owe their immediate duty and allegiance to their sovereign. The claim put forward that the Imperial authorities can dissolve this allegiance by proclamation is tenable rather on the basis of superior strength or political expediency than of law or of treaty obligations. The idea that new obligations can be created or established rights taken away in the case of States in alliance by the Government of India, issuing either a circular letter or a proclamation is not sound. But such action, though it could establish no legal claim, is a clear enough indication of the tendency towards Imperial authority. The Government of India has exerted itself to push forward new claims and to extend old ones. For this purpose, constitutional, legal and feudal theories have been brought into use. Each in its turn has served to deprive the rulers of some part of their authority, or to give to the Central Government some new basis for intervention.”

As regards the Hyderabad case, apart from the rights and wrongs of the Berar question, it is interesting briefly to examine the relationship of the British Government with the Nizam.

According to the author of the *Siyar-ul-Mutakharin*, Chin-Kilich Khan, a Turani nobleman and Viceroy of the Deccan, invited Nadir Shah to invade India. He proclaimed himself independent ruler of the Deccan soon after the departure of Nadir Shah from Delhi. At this period the English were traders on the coast of India (1739). “At what precise time,” says Mr. Field, a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, “the Company exchanged the character of subjects for that of Sovereign and obtained for the Crown the right of sovereignty, is by no means clear. There can be no doubt that, at the beginning of 1806, the Sovereignty of the Bengal Presidency had been acquired and the British power

had become paramount in India." (Field's Regulations of Bengal Code, Introduction, p. 17). Mr. Field can hardly be accurate in his date since the military power of the Mahrattas was unbroken and the Punjab was independent under the Sikhs in 1806. Assuming the date to be correct the political relations of the East India Company with the Nizam and the Mahratta Princes were based on treaty contracts of an international character. Since the Company thereafter came to be recognised as an independent power by Indian Rulers who were themselves independent Sovereigns in their own territories.

The first Governor-General who desired to establish the "Pax Britannica" in India was perhaps Wellesley. In a speech to the European inhabitants of Calcutta on the eve of his departure he said:—

"My public duty is discharged to the satisfaction of my conscience by the prosperous establishment of a system of policy which promises to improve the general condition of the people of India and unite the principal Native States in the bond of peace under the British power."

It was however reserved for the Marquis of Hastings to achieve the goal by his treaties with a large number of States. The States, including those of Rajputana, agreed to give up for the price of protection the right to make peace or to declare war. The term "subordinate co-operation" which occurs for the first time in these treaties made by Hastings was later interpreted by the Political Department to justify intervention in the internal affairs of the States.

Mr. Henry St. George Tucker who was a Director of the East India Company, writes:—

"The Marquis of Hastings took charge of the Government in 1813 and manifested at a very early period that his views of our foreign policy differed widely from those of his immediate predecessors."

He continues:—

"He (Hastings) was ardently impressed with the opinion that the absolute supremacy of the British power throughout India must be maintained, and that the Native States must be united in one great federative league, under a supreme head, which should control and protect them."

"This broad scheme of policy, which has found some strenuous advocates, is very much in unison with that which was for

some time successfully pursued by the late ruler of France (Napoleon) It was perfectly simple in its own nature and reducible to one proposition—the establishment of the well meant despotism of a powerful state over all its weaker neighbours.” (Memorials of Indian Government edited by Kaye pp. 233-34).

Yet in reply to the Resident, Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Metcalfe, who had suggested intervention in Hyderabad in the interests of good government, Hastings wrote:—

Intervention in Hyderabad

“Your letters of August 31, and September 3 and 5 have been laid before the Governor-General in Council, and I am directed to communicate the observations which occurred on their perusal.

“(2) In the second paragraph of your first letter you say, that ‘you suppose our interference in the Nizam’s affairs to be not merely right, but also a duty, arising out of our supremacy in India which imposes on us the obligation of maintaining the tranquillity of all countries connected with us, and consequently of protecting the people from oppressions, as no less necessary than the guaranteeing of their rulers against revolution.’ The assumption of our possessing a universal supremacy in India, involving such rights as you have described, is a mistake. Over States, which have, by particular engagements, rendered themselves professedly feudatory, the British Government does no doubt exercise supremacy; but it never has been claimed, and certainly never has been acknowledged in the case of Native powers standing within the denomination of allies. Although a virtual supremacy may undoubtedly be said to exist in the British Government, from the inability of other states to contend with its strength, the making of such a superiority a principle singly sufficient for any exertion of our will, would be to misapply, and to pervert it to tyrannic purposes.”

“(3) In your third paragraph you observe, ‘the only refuge of a people intolerably vexed, is in emigration or insurrection; and as we secure the Nizam’s Government against rebellion, it seems to be incumbent on us to save his subjects from grievous oppressions.’ The argument of supremacy having been set aside, nothing but the tenure of some special engagement could render us liable to the call, or allot

No authorisation

to us the title for such interposition. Our treaties, characterising the Nizam as an independent sovereign, authorise no such latitude. When, for our private views that prince was constrained to support a body of our troops, to be stationed near his capital, the then Government disguised the interested oppressiveness of making him pay a portion of our army for holding him in thralldom, by a sturdy declaration, that His Highness had spontaneously sought the aid of a subsidiary force to secure his person and territories. The veil thus thrown over our policy required that any stipulations which could mark the prostration of his power should be forborne, so that in appearance, he legitimately retained his freedom. The measure, however, really placed him at our mercy. It was hardly to be imagined that our advantage would not be abused, and it was abused: the independence which the very conditions of the compact recognised and pledged us to respect, was set at naught. Gradual but unequivocal encroachments on the Nizam's just authority were perceived by the honourable court, and a more becoming system was enjoined. The Governor-General in Council laboured to introduce it—a work of no small difficulty when the country was so disorganised—and having established an understanding with Rajah Chundoo Lall for the correction and future conduct of affairs (this Government, in return, binding itself to support that Minister), the Resident was directed to adopt a course of conciliatory counsel instead of those starts of despotic dictation which had before been in use. That limited degree of interference would still be objectionable, but for the common interests between the two governments, that His Highness' territories should be restored to prosperity; yet even that excuse would be insufficient, were not our influence to be managed with delicacy, and to be unavowed. Such is the distinct nature of our relation with the Nizam; and a disregard of its terms would be no less repugnant to general principles, than to the orders of this Government.

“(4) Paragraphs 4 and 5 plead necessity for our interposition, because the Nizam does not rule his subjects with equity and prudence. The fact of mal-administration is unquestionable, and must be deplored. Does that, however, decide the mode in which alteration is to be affected? Where is

our right to determine that the amount of the evil is such as to demand our taking the remedy into our hands? His Lordship in Council observes that the necessity stated is altogether constructive. Were such a pretence allowable, a powerful State should never want a colour for subjugating a weak neighbour. The consequence is so obvious that no principle in the law of nations leaves room for acting on such a presumption. It is admitted, that if convulsions rage so violently in one State as clearly to threaten the excitation of ferment in a bordering one, the latter may be justified in reducing to order the nation by which its tranquillity was menaced. This, however, is an extreme case, at the same time that it is of a description strictly defined. No analogy exists between indisputable exigency and an asserted convenience, where vague arbitrary charges, if tolerated as a ground of procedure, would furnish ready pretext for the foulest usurpation." (Bengal Political Letter, dated December 20, 1822).

Lord Dalhousie's policy of annexation has been regarded as a violation of the solemn treaties entered into by the British with the States and also of that provision of the Charter Act of 1793 which solemnly declared:—

"That to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, honour

ence, and (if need be) compelling by its strength, the continuance, of general peace. It entitles it to interfere in the administration of Native Princes if their administration tends unquestionably to the injury of the subjects or of the allies of the British Government.

"But I recognize no mission confided to the British Government which imposes on it the obligation, or can confer upon it the right of deciding authoritatively on the existence of native independent sovereignties and of arbitrarily setting them aside, whenever their administration may not accord with its own views, and although their acts in no way affect the interests or security of itself or its allies.

"Still less can I recognise any such property in the acknowledged supremacy of the British Government in India, as can justify its rulers in disregarding the positive obligations of international contracts, in order to obtrude on native princes and their people a system of subversive interference which is unwelcome alike to people and prince.

"In the case of the Nizam, the British Government is bound by the solemn obligations of a treaty to abstain from all interference in His Highness's internal affairs. The sovereign has been and still is strongly and consistently averse to any of the slightest evasion on our part of these obligations. His people have shown no desire for our good offices, nor have ever furnished us with the slightest pretext for interposition. And, whatever may be the tenor of His Highness's administration, it cannot be said as yet to have materially affected the security of any portion of British territory, or to have damaged the interest of British subjects . . .

"I refuse to entertain them because we acknowledge the Nizam as an independent Prince. We have bound ourselves by treaty to shield him from every enemy, and we have guaranteed to him the exercise over his own subjects of his sole and absolute authority. The British Government therefore cannot honestly entertain, and has never entertained, any intention of open aggression on the independence of this prince. It nourishes no secret and insidious design of standing aloof while his sovereignty is fast crumbling under the weight of his own incapacity and folly. The Resident at His Highness's Court continues, and will continue, to persevere in the endeavours he has made in past times to support His Highness's power

and to promote the good of his people. He will be instructed to give, on every fit occasion the services of the contingent troops, or, if need be, those of the subsidiary force also, for the maintenance of the sovereign's just authority. In so doing, he will exercise the power with which he is vested, of judging in each case of the fitness of the purpose for which the troops are required, and of demanding subsequently the adoption of such measures as are the proper consequence of his interposition.

"He will warn him on every fitting occasion of the evils which his administration may involve: He will point out the remedy for the abuses he may have denounced, and he will tender freely to His Highness all the aid which the Government of India can supply, whether by his counsel or by force of arms, for meeting the opposition which may be roused to the application of the remedies he may have suggested.

"But so long as the alleged evils of His Highness's Government are confined within its own limits, and affect only his own subjects, the Government of India must observe religiously the obligations of its own good faith. It has no just right to enter upon a system of direct interference in the internal affairs of His Highness's kingdom, which is explicitly forbidden by the positive stipulations of treaty, which would be utterly repugnant to the wishes of the sovereign, our ally, and is unsought by the people over whom he rules.

"If, indeed, the effect of His Highness's misgovernment should be felt beyond his own bounds, if the safety of our territory should be placed in doubt, or the interests of our subjects in jeopardy, I shall be prompt to demand and to enforce reparation for the aggrieved, as well as the infliction of signal punishment on the aggressors. . . ."

It is unnecessary to quote here from State documents to prove that before the Mutiny the great Mahratta Houses of Scindhia, Holkar and Baroda were recognised as independent Sovereigns in alliance with the East India Company.

The Butler Report says:—

"It is not in accordance with historical fact to say that the term 'subordinate co-operation used in many of the treaties is concerned solely with military matters. The term has been used consistently for more than a century in regard to political relations.' (Para. 42.)

Subordinate co-operation is a phrase which is met with for the first time in official documents in the time of the Marquis of Hastings. In the treaty concluded by that Governor-General with the Maharana of Udaipur it is laid down:—

"The Maharana of Udaipur will always act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government and acknowledge its supremacy, and will not have any connection with other Chiefs or States."

The same phraseology is repeated in most of the treaties made by Lord Hastings. Persistent attempts have been made to interpret the phrase "subordinate co-operation" to mean the subordination of Indian States to the policy of the British Government in India. The Government of India has in many cases depended upon this clause to force upon the States policies which the latter have regarded as encroachments upon their rights.

It will be found that the clause in the treaties laying down subordinate co-operation, if taken in conjunction with other articles of the treaty and of the political facts existing at the time, will not bear the interpretation put upon it by the Butler Report.

I.—First, it can be seen from the text of the treaties, that the clause dealt exclusively with the conditions of external relations or military co-operation. The purpose was to see that the ruler taken in alliance did not disturb the general peace. The Udaipur Treaty, for example, mentions in the same article that the Maharana will not have any connection *with other chiefs and States*.

II.—Secondly, these treaties lay down emphatically that the Rulers will remain absolute in their own territory and that their internal sovereignty will not be encroached upon.

Thus the Jaipur treaty, which is one of subordinate co-operation, has the following clause:

"The Maharajah and his heirs and successors shall remain absolute rulers of their territory and their dependents according to long established usage; and the

Absolute British Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction shall not in any manner be introduced into that principality."

III.—Similar clauses exist in most other States allied by treaties of subordinate co-operation.

Lord Hastings expressed himself unequivocally as to what he meant by the "absolute rulership" which the treaty guarantees. In the letter to Hastings' Explanation C. T. Metcalfe already quoted, the Governor-General negatived all suggestions that a right of interposition exists in the case of states "standing within the denomination of allies." "Our treaties characterising the Nizam as an independent sovereign authorise no such latitude."

This being Lord Hastings' view with regard to States whose rulers are declared to be absolute, it cannot be contended that any degree of subordination, except in military matters was intended by the phrase in question. It could not be that Lord Hastings declared a ruler to be absolute and subordinate at the same time, especially when we know that he had laid down as a principle of his policy that where a ruler was declared independent the British Government has no right to intervene.

Sir Charles Metcalfe when he became acting Governor-General wrote in his paper on the affairs of Jaipur in 1835:—
Jaipur affairs

"The true basis of non-interference is a respect for the rights of others—for the rights of all, people as well as Princes. The treaties by which we are connected with Native States are with rare exceptions founded on their independence in internal affairs. In several instances the States are, with respect to external relations, dependent and under our protection but still independent in internal affairs. It is customary with the advocates of interference to twist our obligation of protection against enemies into a right to interfere in the internal affairs of protected States, a right however, which our treaties generally do not give us, otherwise than as the supporters of the legitimate sovereign against usurpation or dethronement, in the event of his not having merited the disaffection of his subjects."

Though meant originally to limit the external relations and military activity of the States, the phrase was expanded and constructively interpreted to mean almost the complete subordination of the States to the opinions and views expressed by the Resi-
Phrase expanded

gency. The transformation of the Residents from the representatives of an allied Government to the controllers of Indian States and the diminution of the authority of the Ruler are the results of a wide and comprehensive interpretation of this term.

Originally the Agents and Residents were appointed to control the external relations of the States and to guard the Company's interests. The earlier agreements contained arrangements for mutual appointment of agents. Later, by the policy of "subordinate co-operation" the Company gained an advantage, in that it secured the right to station its agent in the Indian States, without a corresponding privilege being extended to the States.

The duties of the Agent, however, were then precise and meant only the transaction of the external affairs of the States. His duty was to watch that the State concerned had no external relations except with the Company. The treaties bargained for this and nothing more.

At a later stage the presence of the Political Agent enabled the Government to charge him with additional duties thus enlarging his powers and correspondingly curtailing the Ruler's rights. For this there was no authority except the interpretation that the Government gave to the term "subordinate co-operation."

A right thus assumed could be enlarged in various ways and was enlarged to the detriment of the Ruler's powers. With the entire authority of the Indian Government and its military resources behind them, the Political Officers were no longer intermediaries between two parties in alliance. They became the dictators in the States. As one writer has put it, "The whisper of the Residency became the thunder of the State."

The presence of the Political Officers in the States has led to yet another vital change in the status of Indian Rulers. During the minority of a Ruler administration automatically passes into the hands of the Resident (or other political officer appointed for the purpose), irrespective of the circumstances in which the British originally found a footing in the State.

The Government of India assumes responsibility and as a matter of course immediate authority is conferred by it upon its local representative. He becomes either the sole administrator or the President of the Council of Administration, or other arrangements are made for the State to be run under his "supervision and guidance."

He thus unites in himself two capacities. He is the representative of the British Government as also the trustee acting on behalf of the Ruler, a combination in which, unfortunately for the State, the interests of the senior and dominant partner often carry greater weight than those of the junior.

With the help of the misinterpretation of the phrase—"subordinate co-operation"—the Political Agent has become the repository of almost unique powers. He is a judicial officer entrusted with the enforcement of law against Europeans in all States and against British Indians in some. He is the sole channel of communication with the Government of India, whose deputy he is in all matters.

He is also the representative of the King-Emperor and thus enjoys extra-territoriality, freedom from customs, special personal honour, etc. He also represents the Government of India in an executive capacity. The combination of such diverse authority makes the Residents of Indian States specially prone to interpret the obligations of "subordinate co-operation" of States as meaning compliance without question with the will of the British Government.

Nowhere is this more manifest than in questions relating to the armed forces in the States.

Armed forces of the States The East India Company had made alliances with the States in order to vanquish its own enemies with the help of such States as were on their part at war with one another. After the Mutiny the armed forces of the States were gradually reduced by political pressure although the treaties warranted no such interference. In a confidential despatch to the Home Government Lord Napier of Magdala, the Commander-in-Chief wrote *inter alia*:

"Our whole experience in India should warn us that we cannot always depend upon tranquillity; that disturbances arise when they are least expected; and, when they commence

at one point, unless immediately checked, they are sure to be followed by others".

"There are considerable forces under Native Chiefs, who may be individually friendly, but whose troops can never be relied on not to join against us".

"Our military force at Gwalior is much inferior in strength to that which Scindia could bring against it, and nothing but the possession of the fort could justify our position at Morar, even with the garrison originally appointed for it".

"We are aware that the Deccan, Central India and the Border States of Rajputana, such as Kerowlee and Kotah, could furnish larger bodies of men than those which gave such ample occupation to General Stewart's and afterwards Sir Hugh Rose's and Sir John Mitchell's forces."

"We know that Holkar has a foundry and makes good guns for his own amusement. We do not know how many may be made in other places, but we may be certain that guns will not be wanting whenever there are people to use them".

The above extract is from a pamphlet printed and published in Calcutta in 1872. About this time the *Spectator* commented:—

"If we could persuade the Native Princes to disarm on condition of a guarantee of quiet possession from any exterior force, we should be relieved from one of the causes of danger which make our Military expenditure so heavy. These Princes amuse themselves by keeping on foot and equipping with arms of the newest pattern armies of very considerable size for no apparent purpose whatever. These forces are ten times what they need for internal police of their territories and there is no external enemy that could touch them. The real object of these armies is that their masters, if bad times came for the English, might rule the situation, and ask their own terms. We are at present on excellent terms with these princes, but we are obliged to watch their armies and keep armies of our own to hold them in check. The consequence is that the vast majority of the natives in India bear the burden of taxes which they hate, and which grind them terribly, in order that the princes of a small minority may enhance their dignity by keeping up armies to frighten us with".

The Russian Scare led to offers by the States to help in the defence of India and enabled Lord Lansdowne to organise the sys-

tem of Imperial Service Troops inaugurated by his predecessor. Later the Commander-in-Chief became a frequent visitor in the States and there was no need thereafter to write minutes upon the danger from troops maintained by the Indian Princes. Since the War the Imperial Service Troops have been replaced by what are known as "Class A" and "Class B" troops which in some cases cost the States twice as much as their ordinary forces.

British control has grown *pari passu* with the organization of the State forces and the Rulers cannot even make alterations in the distribution of units or even change the name of a unit without inviting interference from the Government! Some of the States have thus to pay twice over for the common defence of India while in reply to their requests for facilities for the proper training of their own officers they have so far only got promises which remain to be fulfilled. Restrictions on armaments which have no necessary reference to treaty stipulations meanwhile continue. The armed forces of the states are powerless to obey or protect their own Rulers whenever the British Government desires to take action against them although the troops are useful for such Imperial purposes for which the British Government propose to use them. With the disappearance of the military power of the Rulers they have gradually suffered humiliation in their ancient "dignity and honour."

Although Lord Curzon said "the Princes are no longer detach-

Dignity and Honour

ed appendages of Empire, but its participators and instruments. They have

ceased to be architectural adornments of the Imperial edifice, and are among the pillars that sustain the main roof" significant changes have been introduced in the phraseology of official documents by the Government of India. The Imperial Gazetteer of 1866 if compared with the Imperial Gazetteer of 1908 will furnish illustrations on this point. Such terms as "dynasty" "alliance" "Indian Power" "sovereignty" "throne" "reign" etc., are deleted and they are replaced by new sentences containing words innocuous in a political sense. The Rulers are not to be treated as Royal Personages and they are no longer to expect treatment as independent sovereigns because they have transferred some of their sovereign rights and independence to another Sovereign Power for the benefit of the

country as a whole.

Lord Curzon's first speech on the States was delivered in Gwalior in November 1899. He said:—
Lord Curzon's views

"The Native Chief has become, by our policy, an integral factor in the imperial organisation of India. He is concerned not less than the Viceroy or the Lieutenant-Governor in the administration of the country. I claim him as my colleague and partner."

The terms of partnership were, however, to be those which His Excellency considered best for the safety of the British Empire in India. Lord Curzon's regime witnessed the climax of the policy of considering the Indian Rulers as administrative agents of the Government of India whose rights, powers and dignity were derived from the Crown. At the various installation speeches Lord Curzon asserted the unlimited rights of the Paramount Power.

At the installation at Bahawalpur he said: "The sovereignty of the Crown is everywhere unchallenged. It has itself laid down the limitations of its own prerogative."

At the Alwar installation Lord Curzon declared that the Government must satisfy itself "that the young Chief has received the education and training that will qualify him to rule over men" before entrusting him with the task of administration. Lord Curzon also issued a circular to the effect that before an Indian Ruler left India he should obtain the permission of the Viceroy!

The growth of the national movement in British India during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon alarmed the British Government. A new policy of co-operation with the States was therefore inaugurated by his successor Lord Minto who could claim a special interest in the welfare of Indian Rulers owing to the previous connection of his family with many of the States.

The change of policy was announced at Udaipur. It was a total departure from the hectoring and unfriendly patronage of Lord Curzon. Lord Minto said:—

"I have made it a rule to avoid the issue of general instructions as far as possible and have endeavoured to deal with questions as they arose with reference to existing treaties, the merits of each case, local conditions, antecedent circumstances and the particular stage of development, feudal and

constitutional of individual principalities."

Lord Minto translated this changed attitude of Government into action by re-establishing the State of Benares. Lord Minto saw in the Princes a bulwark against subversive movements in British India and he began to take counsel with the Princes in the movement in British India has however had its repercussions in the States.

The Montford Report led the Government to abandon the policy of isolating the States and to invite their co-operation through a Chamber of Princes to solve problems of common interest. Apart from matters in which they have surrendered their freedom of action such as the right to make war and peace there is no justification, legal or constitutional, for treating Indian States as subordinate entities.

The problem of the relationship of political communities small or large can only be solved by justice and co-operation among equals. The States are under present circumstances unable to develop their own political and economic life. Their rights, such as they are, have to give way before questions affecting the good of India as a whole which is another way of saying for the permanence of British rule in India.

The position of minor States and those that have no treaties to show is an unenviable one while the position of those among them who through gradual political pressure are now reduced to the status of mediatised States or mere Feudatories of the larger States is indeed much worse. As regards the Treaty States who were once independent their Rulers must pause and consider whether they should accept the position of Feudatories of the British Crown which the Butler Report in effect assigns to them.

The gift of protection which the British Government offers is not unconditional. Protection against external and internal enemies, for a Ruler who has not misgoverned, is definitely promised. But there may be no protection against a popular demand for a change.

The rights and grievances of subjects of the States the Com-

mittee preferred to treat as *terra incognita*, yet a pious hope was expressed by the Committee that the Princes may postpone the evil day when they will be called upon to accede to popular demands by following the advice of their guide, philosopher and friend, the Viceroy!

"No such case has yet arisen, or is likely to arise if the Princes' rule is just and efficient, and in particular if the advice given by His Excellency Lord Irwin to the Princes, and accepted in principle by their Chamber, is adopted in regard to a fixed privy purse, security of tenure in the public services and an independent judiciary." (Report para. 50).

Lord Irwin would no doubt claim that his Government is "just and efficient". How then does he explain the demand for immediate self-government on Colonial lines and how does he hope to stem its rising tide in British India?

The attempt to divide India into two Indias in one of which prevails the system of Government according to law and in the other a system of government according to the will of the ruler may for a time succeed, but no power can divide one nation into "two nations". When responsible self-government is attained in British India it follows that it cannot be delayed in "Indian India."

The Rulers of the Indian States must face facts. If they rely on the gift of protection from an alien government for the continuance of their rule it may prove to be a Greek gift. At the time when they most need such protection the Protecting Power itself will have already surrendered to popular demand—a fact which is bound to affect India as a whole.

Mutual suspicion and a lack of unity among the Rulers and an invidious distinction between Ruling Princes and Ruling Chiefs have made concerted action difficult. The States as a whole have not been able to take up a bold attitude *vis-a-vis* the British Government.

It is for the Rulers of the Indian States, to consider whether the solution lies in seeking to derive power from an alien government which has already reduced them to *Rois Fainéants*, or from the consent of

their own people. Cromwell wrote on the Statute Books of the English Parliament "All just powers under God are derived from the consent of the people."

The Butler Report says:—

"The marching life of Moghul and Mahratta times has yielded to the sustained quiet of British rule but the old spirit survives in many a story and many a hope". (Para. 12.)

If the old spirit does survive the Indian Rulers cannot accept the position declared by the Butler Committee of perpetual dependence on the British Crown, and their "hopes" whatever they may be, must remain a will-o'-the-wisp.

If, however, justice in India means the same thing as in England and the self-governing Colonies, then Froude's view that "free nations cannot govern subject provinces" must ultimately prevail and British domination in India must in course of time cease.

The choice of the Rulers lies between dependence on an alien power to maintain their privileged position and complete autonomy, on an equal basis for themselves and their people as part of India free from alien domination.

